# Optionals in Sanskrit Language and Pāṇini

**Dr. Uma Vaidya**

**( Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit,
Wilson College, Mumbai.)**

---

**Shri Dvarakadhish Charities - Mumbai**

# OPTIONALS IN SANSKRIT LANGUAGE
# AND
# PĀṆINI

## Dr. (Mrs.) Uma Vaidya

(Head, Dept. of Sanskrit,
Wilson College, Mumbai).

Optionals in Sanskrit Language
and Pāṇini.

Published by
Dvarakadhish Trust,
Mumbai.

Copyright © 2003 - Dr. (Mrs.) Uma Vaidya

Type - Setting - by
PRATIBHA D.T.P. CENTRE.
Mr. Lagu. B. Y.
62/A, Anand-Dham, Brahmin-Wadi, Kurla (w),
Mumbai - 400 070. Phone - 2650 0232

Printed at
TRUPTI PRINTERS.
Mr. Abhyankar A. Y.

Price : Rs. 300/-

## – अर्पणपत्रिका –

स्वामी सन् ज्ञानतीर्थानामम्बादासगुणाकृतिः ।
सदाशिवः सदा पातु वेदविद्याविशारदः ॥१॥

प्रथमं पुस्तकं चेदं विकल्पविषयात्मकम् ।
स्निग्धाय गुरुवर्याय तत्त्वज्ञायार्प्यते मुदा ॥२॥

# Optionals in Sanskrit Language and Pāṇini

# Preface

I am very happy to present a few observations and thoughts of mine, to the world of scholars on 'Optionals' in the Sanskrit language and *Pāṇini*. I doubt my capacities to undertake such kind of work for the grammar of Sanskrit language has the sky as the limit of height and the bottom of the unfathomable ocean as the limit of depth. Still I venture to work on some part of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī which consists of option-indicative-aphorisms. The option-indicative -terms which are employed by Pāṇini have warranting explanations of their own. The efforts are made to trace the origin of the option - indicative - terminology and to find out it's implications.

This book is divided into eight chapters. Excluding the introductory chapter and the chapter on the *vārtika s*, there are six main chapters. Each chapter presents the study of a particular option-indicative-term; with reference to the rules employing that term. At the end of each chapter various implications of the term concerned, are noted. The chapter on the Vārtikas is added to mark further development of the language regarding the optional forms in the opinion of Kātyāyana. Moreover, the maps of India, at Pāṇini's time will enable the reader to mark the exact geographical and linguistic regions in ancient India in 5th Century B.C.

I sincerely think that this study will be helpful to know even the minute linguistic differences in the prevalent languages in ancient India and also to know the styles of pronounciation in different regions. Though this work was done long back, due to some circumstantial difficulties, it is being published very late. Inspite of the stray references occuring in the words of some eminent scholars, the picture of optionality in Pāṇini is not that complete and comprehensive as it ought to have been. P.Kiparsky in his book, titled as '*Pāṇini, as a variationist*' has led stress on the words used by Pāṇini himself within the frame of the *Aṣṭādhyāyi* and thereby arrived at some conclusions. I have taken note of his scholarly views and at

certain places I have been constrained to differ from him respect-
fully. I believe my humble efforts will throw light on Pāṇini's
technique of systematising the grammar of Sanskrit language in
general and framing the option - indicative - rules in particular.

I am very much indebted to Dr. S. A. Dange. and Dr.(Mrs.) S.
S. Dange whose scholarly guidance and parental attitude have in-
spired me to work persistently for the publication of this book. I
have no words to express my gratitude towards them. I sincerely
thank Mr. Bhalchandra Lagu of Pratibha DTP Centre, Kurla,
Mumbai; who has taken lots of pains to prepare the manuscript of
the text very carefully. My thanks are also due to Mr. Kumar Vyas
for his valuable suggestions and for the help he has rendered in
bringing out this book. I am equally thankful to the owner Mr. A. Y.
Abhyankar of Trupti Printers, who have not only agreed to publish
the book but have brought out the volume in attractive form. The
present work is the result not only of my modest and sincere at-
tempts to present some observations on optionals in the Sanskrit
language but also of the assistance of diverse nature coming from
several persons. I sincerely thank them all.

I hope that this book will present a fairly good picture of
Pāṇinian thoughts on optionality and will help the new generation
of students who are interested in Pāṇinian studies.

**Dr.(Mrs.) Uma Vaidya.**

Shri Ganesh Jayanti
5th February, 2003.
Mumbai.

# Contents

# Abbreviations

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | AB. | - | Aitareya Brāhmaṇa |
| 2. | AV. | - | Atharvaveda Saṁhitā |
| 3. | Ā.ŚS. | - | Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra |
| 4. | Āpa.Dh.S. | - | Āpastamba Dharmasūtra |
| 5. | Āpa.ŚS. | - | Āpastamba Śrautasūtra |
| 6. | Ātha.ptk. | - | Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya |
| 7. | Bau.ŚS. | - | Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra |
| 8. | B. G. | - | Bhagavad - Gītā |
| 9. | B.hari. | - | Bhartṛhari |
| 10. | B.M. | - | Bāla-Manoramā (on Siddhāntakaumudī) |
| 11. | B.S. | - | Bhāradvāja - Śikṣā |
| 12. | Chān.upa. | - | Chāndogyopaniṣad |
| 13. | Go.Brā. | - | Gopatha Brāhmaṇa |
| 14. | Jai.Upa.Brā. | - | Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa |
| 15. | Jai.Brā. | - | Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa |
| 16. | JŚS | - | Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra |
| 17. | KS. | - | Kauśika - Sūtra |
| 18. | Kāṭhaka | - | Kāṭhaka - Saṁhitā |
| 19. | Kāt. ŚS | - | Kātyāyana - Śrautasūtra |
| 20. | Kumāra | - | Kumārasaṁbhava |
| 21. | MB. | - | Mahābhāṣya |
| 22. | MM. | - | Mālatīmādhava |
| 23. | MS. | - | Mai.Saṁ. - Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā |
| 24. | Mahā.N. | - | Mahānārāyaṇīyopaniṣad |
| 25. | Megh. | - | Meghadūta |
| 26. | PM. | - | Padamañjarī - ( on Kāśikā - vṛtti ) |
| 27. | Pai. Saṁ. | - | Paippalāda - Saṁhitā |
| 28. | Pari.B. | - | Paribhāṣenduśekhara |
| 29. | Ptk. | - | Prātiśākhya |
| 30. | Ṛv. | - | Ṛgveda - Saṁhitā |
| 31. | Raghu. | - | Raghuvamśa |
| 32. | S.V. | - | Sāmaveda - Saṁhitā |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 33. | Si. kau. | - | Siddhāntakaumudī |
| 34. | Sphoṭa. | - | Sphoṭāyana |
| 35. | ŚŚS. | - | Śāmkhāyana Śrautasūtra |
| 36. | Śa.Bra. | - | Śata Brā. - Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa |
| 37. | Śāka. | - | Śākaṭāyana |
| 38. | Śā.Vyā. | - | Śākaṭāyana -Vyākaraṇa |
| 39. | TĀ. | - | Taittirīya Āraṇyaka |
| 40. | T.B. | - | Tattvabodhinī-(on Siddhāntakaumudī) |
| 41. | TS. | - | Tai. Sam. - Taittirīya - Samhitā |
| 42. | Tai.Ptk. | - | Taittirīya - Prātiśākhya |
| 43. | UT. | - | Uttararāmacarita |
| 44. | Vāja.Ptk. | - | Vājasaneyi - Prātiśākhya |
| 45. | Vāja.Sam. | - | Vājasaneyi - Samhitā |
| 46. | Vyā.MB. | - | Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya |
| 47. | Y.V. | - | Yajurveda - Samhitā |
| 48. | I.H.Q. | - | Indian Historical Quarterly |
| 49. | J.O.R. | - | Journal of Oriental Research |
| 50. | V.I.J. | - | Vishveshvarananda Institute Journal |
| ५१. | अष्टा. | - | अष्टाध्यायी. |

# Introduction

Sanksrit was the living language in the times immemorial and had shown many changes from time to time and from place to place. As the river, flowing from the high mountains to the deep seas shows various shades of water at different seasons and at different places, the river of the Sanskrit language also had shown different forms and styles in its long run. This 'Sanskṛt-Mandākinī' has been constantly flowing on, through the centuries, always growing and changing with new words and expressions. When the rich poetry in this heavenly language was in full bloom and when the scientific study in this language was presenting its intellectual excellence, some scholars engaged themselves in systematising the language and those were the grammarians. It is not that the first grammatical treatise was written by Pāṇini but many grammarians preceded him, though their consolidated thoughts or rules of grammar have not reached us.

It is now accepted that the authors of the *Ptk* .ʻ were the pioneers of consolidated grammatical treaties, though before them stray ideas of grammar were implied in the writings of the ancient authors. Some grammarians like 'Śākalya, Śākaṭāyana' etc. had some important ideas and grammatical concepts like 'Pragṛhyas' and the 'Prakṛtibhāva'_ position but they were limited to the vedic grammar only. After the authors of the *Ptk* ʻ., the grammarians like 'Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja' were the authorities on grammar and they had many followers blooming into various grammatical schools. Then follows Pāṇini, creating 'the highest monument of human intelligence', the *'Aṣṭādhyāyī'*. This is the first systematic work on grammar and a perfect grammatical science. The date of Pāṇini, now admitted in the circle of scholars is, 5th century B.C. and thus the birth-date of this science is also fifth century B.C.

Uptill the date, ample efforts have been made to explain the technique of the *'Aṣṭādhyāyī'*. Different grammarians and scholars from different regions have written a bulk on this text. Still certain topics have remained untouched, one of which is that of option -

indicative - rules. The explanation of alternative forms in language is an important purpose of grammatical studies. The optional forms throw light on the growth and decay of the language with the tendency of accepting the new forms and rejecting the old ones. The option - indicative - aphorism in Pāṇini have been referred to and discussed in various articles occasionally but a systematic study of them was very much necessary. The aim of this project - work was to study the option - indicative - rules and to trace the option - indicative - terminology. Moreover, efforts have been made to rank the option - indicative - terms on the basis of the degrees and the shades of options they denote. From the observations made in this concern, it can be safely said that each option - indicative word has its own special implication, however faint it might be !

Though this study of option - indicative - rules in Pāṇini was completed long back, due to some unavoidable circumstances this book is being published very late. In the meantime, in 1979, P.Kiparsky has published a book titled as *'Pāṇini - as a variationist'*. The observations put for by P. Kiparsky are taken note of and at some places the difference of opinion is also noted.

The object of grammar is to make a presentation of the facts of language primarily as they show themselves in the literature and in the common use and only secondarily as they are laid down by regional grammarians. The study of the option - indicative - rules is very important for the following four reasons.

1) These rules occupy a large space in the text of *'Aṣṭādhyāyī'*.

2) They reveal some important concepts in Pāṇinian grammar like 'Mahāvibhāṣā' or 'Vyavasthita - Vibhāṣā'.

3) These rules show the chronological development of the Sanskrit language and also development according to the various regions.

4) It is interesting to observe the tendencies of speech and, by the way, the different traditions prevailing in those regions.

Language is defined as speech and is used for communica-

tion among a group of people or a race or a community. A dialect on the other hand is a variation of the language, differing from the standard in vocabulary, pronunciation or idiom. Often a dialect is only a spoken language. The language functions at two broad levels, one is more conscious, hence deliberate and formal : while the other, crude in a way, more open and informal. The first is called the standard language i.e. 'Śiṣṭasammata' while the second one is a dialect, which obeys the rules of its own grammar. But, both can and do co-exist, each fulfilling distinct socio-cultural needs.

It is interesting to see, how the words become optional or alternative to each other. A certain group of people uses a particular word-form to denote a particular meaning. The other group ( from the another region or at the different time ) uses some other word-form of the same root, to denote the same meaning, but no word-form can remain restricted to that particular group only. These people carry that word with them wherever they may go. They continue to use it. Then both the words get assimilated in the language and both get used. People also become familiar with that new word or expression or form and consequently they begin to use it. In this way the newly arrived word-form gets an equal place in the language with the common word-form which is already prevalent; and thus both become alternatives to each other.

When it is proposed to study the option-indicative-rules in the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' the underlying concept of the word option is to be explained. When one says that a particular grammatical operation is optionally allowed it means either,

    a)   partial permission to that operation which was previously prohibited or

    b)   partial prohibition to that operation which was previously permitted.

    These two types of option are called 'Prāpta-vibhāṣās' and if there is

    c)   statement of partial permission to an operation ( either

positive or negative ) altogether new, it is called an 'Aprāpta-vibhāṣā'. When there are two or more possibilities (of any operation or object) by which the fruit of action can be acquired, the person has a free choice to choose either of the operations or the objects to acquire the fruit. This permission to choose the desired operation or object (or even a word-form in the language) is called 'option'. When it is said that one can perform a sacrifice either with 'Tilas' or with 'Taṇḍulas', it is meant that the fruit that one could get by the sacrifice performed by either of the two is of equal value and thus one can choose any one of these two. In the case of optional use of the words it is expected that the two words which are optional or alternatives to each other (though are not derived from the same stem or suffix) should present the same sense. This is another important point to be noted about the concept of option. Thus, in the given example the Tilas and Taṇḍulas are the two alternatives. The process of selecting any one of them is called optional application.

On the general level, the words 'option' and 'alternation' are used as synonyms (i. e. both these words yield the same meaning ) but the study of the option - indicative - rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* reveals the difference between the two. A thought can be presented either by the use of a sentence or by a single word-form as a Kṛdanta or a Samāsa etc. A person uses one form of his choice out of the two possible forms presenting the same meaning. In these two methods the type of option differs. When there is a choice between a sentence and a single word-form it is to be called an 'option' ( i. e. 'Vikalpa' ) and when there is a choice between two word-forms it is a case of alternation ( i.e. 'Paryāya' ).

For example : -

'Rājñaḥ putraḥ' or 'Rājaputraḥ'                                          Option
    (sentence)   or   (compound)

        But

'Śonā'   or   'Śoṇī'        ( P. A. 4.1.43.)

'Prārṣabhīyati' or 'Prarṣabhiyati' ( P. A. 6.1.92.)  } Alternation

According to this new connotation of these two words, there are only three rules which indicate 'option' in the true sense of the word and all the rules which are called generally as option - indicative - rules are in fact 'alternation indicatives'. The three 'option'- in- dicative - rules are called 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rules and they are

    1) 'Vibhāṣā' - P. A. 2.1.11

    2) 'Dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ - - - ' P. A. 3.1.7

    3) 'Samarthānām prathamādvā' - P. A. 4.1.82

    In the grammatical tradition of Pāṇini, there are three types of the optional statements.

    1) 'Prāpta vibhāṣā'. 2) 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' and 3) *'Prāptāprāpta'* or *'Ubhayavibhāṣā'*. The 'Prāptavibhāṣā' is a statement which in- dicates optional application of the previous statement, either positive or negative. This statement restricts the scope of the first general statement, in some cases, with or without some new condition. If the first statement is positive, the second will have prohibitive quality which will be indicated by either of the option - indicative - words. On the contrary, if the first statement is negative the second will give permission to it (positively). This is called 'Prāptavibhāṣā', an option to that which is already stated. When there is an altogether new statement (showing option for the first time) it is called 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' and third is 'Ubhayavibhāṣā' which comes partially in the *'Prāptavibhāṣā'* and partially in the 'Aprāptavibhāṣā', examples will explain the point soon.

    The alternative forms, suggested by the rules employing sage- names are expected to come, from the same dialect i. e. the dialect, represented by the sage. Everybody knows that Pāṇini has written the grammar of the common language and the different dialects are indicated by the sage-names. If the forms, which are expected to be alternatives to each other, have come from two different dialects, they cannot be strictly called alternatives. They both should be, ei- ther from Pāṇini's language or from one and the same dialect (of

that particular sage). For example - 'Gireśca Senakasya '-P.A. 5.4.112.
The rule yields two forms, 'Upagiram' and 'Upagiri'. If these two
forms are used in the language of 'Senaka' they can be optional to
each other and if one of the two forms is used in *Pāṇini's* language
( 'Upagiri ') and the other is used (with '*TaC*' - according to 'Senaka ')
in Senaka's dialect, then they cannot be strictly optional to each
other. Further, there are some rules in which some option - indica-
tive - word is used along with the sage-name ( 'vā - supyāpiśaleḥ ' -
P.A.6.1.92.). In those cases, the optional use of the two forms, occurs
in 'Āpiśali 's' dialect. The following table will explain the point more
clearly.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | 'Pradhāna bhāṣā' | A | 'Pradhāna bhāṣā' | B |
| (2) | 'Upabhāṣā'<br>(dialect) | A | 'Upabhāṣā'<br>(dialect) | B |
| (3) | 'Pradhāna bhāṣā'<br>(dialect) | A | 'Upa bhāṣā' | B |

(1) When the forms A and B, both are coming from the 'Pradhāna
bhāṣā', they are alternatives to each other and this option is indi-
cated by some option - indicative word (other than sage-name or
region-name). (2) If the two forms A and B are used in one and the
same 'Upabhāṣā' (dialect) then they are alternatives to each other.
(3) But if one form (i.e. A - form) has come from the 'Pradhāna bhāṣā'
and the other from (i.e. B -form) the 'Upabhāṣā' they cannot be alter-
natives to each other.

Now, the double use of the option - indicative - words (i.e. '*Vā*'
and the sage name 'Āpiśali ') can be explained thus. The rule 'Upasar-
gādṛti dhātau' explains the form 'Prārṣabhīyati.' and 'Vā supyā-
piśaleḥ' explains the form 'Prārṣabhīyati ', which is restricted to his
(i.e. '*Āpiśali's*') dialect. If the form 'Prārṣabhīyati ', which is a gen-
eral form occurs in the dialect of 'Āpiśali ', then naturally both are
alternatives to each other (i.e. the second part of the table) and the

word 'Vā' would be redundant ; but as we know, not even a single letter from Pāṇini's pen is redundant, this 'Vā' also is not redudant for it suggests that both these forms are from 'Āpiśali's' dialect and thus this example can be called an 'Aupabhāṣikavikalpa'.[1]

In short, the following are the conditions for any word to get the status of alternative forms - a) same meaning, b) use in the same dialect, c) both not harming the meaning of the sentence even if they are replaced by each other.

Before proceeding further the difference between an 'Apavāda' and 'Vikalpa' is to be noted. Both these rules ( i.e. an 'Apavāda' - rule and 'Vikalpa' - rule ) are preceded by a general rule but the 'Apavāda'-rule (i.e. special rule ) debars the general rule completely while the 'Vikalpa' -rule allows the general rule partially or optionally. In both the cases, the general rule gets minor position and the other two rules supercede but the 'Apavāda' - rule leaves no chance for the general rule while 'Vikalpa' - rule gives partial per-mission to the general rule. For example -The general rule 'Karmaṇyaṇ'- P.A. 3.2.1 is totally debarred by the special rule 'āto ṣ nupasarge kaḥ' - P.A. 3.2.3 and thus the form 'Godāyaḥ' is set aside by the form 'Godaḥ' (which is obtained by P.A.3.2.3 ). But in the case of the general rule 'Dvandve ca' P.A.1.1.31 the case is different. The following rule 'Vibhāṣā jasi'- P.A.3.1.32 is an op-tional rule and thus the 'Sarvanāma' - designation which is given by the general rule P.A. 1.3.31 is optionally retained by the following rule P.A.1.3.32 before the 'Jas'- suffix. Thus the optional rules are more helpful to expalin different forms in the language.

P. Kiparsky - in his book,[2] on page 46 states that the special rules are optional and that their purpose is to restrict the general rules in a particular context. But it is to be stated that all special rules can not be the optional rules and all the optional rules can not be the special rules. The difference between 'Apavāda' (special rule) and the 'Vikalpa' (optional rule) is already noted above. Therefore, the statement should be slightly modified as - In some cases op-

tional rules are special rules and their purpose is to restrict the general rules in a particular context.

The option - indicative - words are eight in number and there are some more miscellaneous words which are supposed to be option - indicatives but they are not really so. In the separate chapter on these words, the topic will be discussed at length, but it may be mentioned at this juncture that 'Vā, Vibhāṣā, Bahulam, Anyatarasyām, Ubhayathā, Prāyeṇa', the names of the sages and regions (partially) and 'Vibhāṣitam' are the option-indicative-words. The miscellaneous words like 'Chandasi, Ṛci, Yajuṣi, Kāṭhake, Nigame' present the peculiarities of those texts. Still they are studied here to mark their speciality which is a phase of option - indication though not option - indication in the defined sense of the term. In this book, the option - indicative words are collectively called as 'option - indicative - terminology' and origin of this terminology is traced to the 'Prātiśākhya[s]'.

Scholars have been studying the technical terms in the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' but none of them referes to the option - indicative - terms. K.M.K. Sarma[3] has written an article on 'Technical terms in the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' but in this article he does not include any of the option - indicative - terms (either defined or non-defined ). He has discussed Goldstücker's view and has also given his own remark on the comment of 'Patañjali' on the rule 'tadaśiṣyam samjñāpramāṇatvāt' - P. A. 1.2.53. If the rule is taken out of its context and if we accept Goldstücker's interpretation of the rule, we can answer the problem why Pāṇini does not define the option-indicative - terms. Goldstücker interprets the rule as follows - 'such matter will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine, literally, for it has the authority of a 'Samjñā' or a conventional term)'. The terms 'Vā, Vibhāṣā, Anyatarasyām, Bahulam' etc. are not defined, in the true sense of the word 'definition'. These terms are quite different from other grammatical terms he has used as 'Ṭi, Ghu,

Bha' etc. 'Ṭi, Ghu, Bha' are not conventional terms i.e. which are known or settled otherwise, but such is not the case with option - indicative - terms. In practice also people know what is 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā'. Goldstücker thinks that Pāṇini defines only those terms which cannot be explained etymologically.' The point therefore is, the terms 'Ṭi, Ghu, Bha' are only grammatic symbols but 'Vā, Vibhāṣā' are not, they have some meaning implied in it. '*Vibhāṣā*' is the. only option-indicative-term, defined by Pāṇini and that is probably because he has elaborated the concept underlying the term 'Vibhāṣā'. Dr. N. C. Nātha.⁴ in his study of Pāṇinian terms and their definitions records the word 'Bahulam' under the class of non-defined words but he does not mention other option - indicative - words which are not defined (like 'Anyatarasyām'). On the contrary, even in the class of defined words he does not include the term 'Vibhāṣā'. Pāṇini mainly defines those terms where he intends a modified sense or which are not common terms. Still many terms are left without definition. This deficiency of 'Sūtrakāra' is to some extent made up by the 'Bhāṣyakāra'; who has explained many terms which are left out by Pāṇini - yet not all have received his attention too - 'Upottama, Kṛt, Taddhita' etc.

Though the option - indicative - terms (except 'Vibhāṣā') are not defined one surely gets the glimpses to find out the implication of these non-defined terms. The two rules i.e. 'Bahulamābhīkṣṇye' - P.A.3.2.18 and 'Samuccayeçnyatarasyām'-P.A.3.4.3. are the concrete examples for the statement. These rules are not the definitions of the terms 'Bahulam' and 'Anyatarasyām' respectively but taken out of their context (where they are taught) they definitely throw light on their implication. The rule 'bahulamābhīkṣṇye' has the context of the suffix 'Ṇini' but the important point is about the continued repetition of the action. The rule no doubt states the suffix 'Ṇini' when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed (provided that it should not be a habit). With this explanation of the rule one can understand the implied sense of the rule as 'Ābhīkṣṇye

gamyamāne bahulam śabdo yujyate '. When Pāṇini observes cer-
tain operations taking place frequently in a particular case and in
certain cases not taking place at all, he uses the word 'Bahulam' and
denotes the frequency of the operation. The rule 'Tṛtīyāsaptamyor
bahulam' -P.A.2.4.84 ('Ambhāvaḥ avyayībhāve') states that the
change to 'am' of the third and seventh case affixes coming after
an 'Avyayībhāva' - compound that ends in 'a' occurs diversely, so
we have 'Upakumbhena' or 'Upakumbham'. But this 'Ambhāva' will
take place obligatorily in some cases as 'Unmattagaṅgam'. In some
cases elision of the locative is seen and in some cases it is not seen
as - 'Kurucaraḥ, Madracaraḥ' and 'Stamberamaḥ' or 'Karṇejapaḥ'.

The other rule mentioned above is 'Samuccaye ç nyatarasyām'
P.A.3.4.3. This rule also if taken out of its context will give some
clue to Pāṇini's implication of the word 'Anyatarasyām'. In its con-
text the rule teaches about substitution. It states that the affix 'loṭ' is
similarly added to the root optionally when several themes follow
one another. The idea of several themes is important from our point
of view. In the chapter on the word 'Anyatarasyām' the point will
be clear that this word, many times, allows two or more operations
- for example -

    'Keśādvo ç nyatarasyām' - P.A.5.2.109 we also have the rule
'Tadasya asti' P.A.5.2.94; so the form is 'Keśavān'; we have also
'Keśī', Keśavaḥ' etc. That is to say, several affixes claim on one
and the same object. It naturally causes a 'Samuccaya' and the
word 'Anyatarasyām' is used. The other example will also prove
the point. 'Pṛthagvinānānābhistṛtīyā ç nyatarasyām' P.A.2.3.32. The
indeclina-bles, 'Pṛthak, nānā and vinā' allow three cases i.e. accusa-
tive, instrumental and ablative. This is also a group of cases follow-
ing one after another. Thirdly, Pradīpa also supports the point by
saying 'Anyatarasyām grahaṇam pakṣye vibhaktyantaraprāpa-
ṇārtham - -'. The conclusion therefore is that these two rules, taken
out of their context and probed further give a clue to the purpose of
their employment by Pāṇini.

In this connection a glance at the information about the op-
tion - indicative - words which one finds in the *ptk.*ˢ is helpful. The
following *ptk.*ˢ have recorded these efforts. The names of the *ptk.*ˢ
are given in their chronological order, respectively. 1) the *Ṛk-ptk.*
2) the *Taittirīya ptk.* 3) the *Vājasaneyī ptk.* and 4) the *Ātharvaṇa
ptk.* The *ptk.*ˢ have taken their final form between 700 B.C. to 500
B.C. *Pāṇini's* date is accepted as 500 B.C. The fourth *ptk.* i. e. the
*Ātharvaṇa ptk.* is the latest one and it is posterior to Pāṇini. Yāska is
prior to all the *ptk.*ˢ and also to Pāṇini as his date is accepted as 700
B.C. and thus in all these grammatical treaties the *'Nirukta'* is the
oldest one.

It is very clear that the terminology of the option - indicative
- words which is used in the *'Aṣṭādhyāyī'* is taken from the *ptk.*ˢ.

The option - indicative - words 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' have fre-
quent occurences in the *ptk.*ˢ. It is seen that these two words have
come from the 'Saṁhitā' - literature. The word 'Bahulam' is also
found in the *ptk.* but one cannot find the word 'Anyatarasyām' in
any of the four *ptk.*ˢ. The *'Taittirīya ptk.'.* quotes twenty one
authorities, but among them we miss the name of Pāṇini. Pāṇini has
treated of most of the topics which form the theme of the *ptk.*ˢ and if
he had been known to the *Tai.ptk.*, he could not have been omitted.
The presumption therefore is strong that the author of the *ptk.*ˢ lived
before the date of Pāṇini.

The word 'Vā' is very common even in the spoken language
and thus it was not necessary to define. It has occurred so naturally
even the *Ṛk-ptk.* that it needs no explanation. In the *Tai.ptk* it is
shown that the word 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' are equivalent.�ⁱ This *ptk.*
also gives the meaning of the word *'Na'* in the grammatical context.
Here it seems that 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' have the same degree of option
and they are parallel to each other. In Pāṇini the case differs. Ac-
cording to Pāṇini they are not on equal grounds. 'Vā' is a simple
option - indicative - term having only one stage in the process of
option - indication, while 'Vibhāṣā' shows two stages very clearly.

Pāṇini defines the term 'Vibhāṣā' as 'Naveti vibhāṣā' ( P. A. 1.1.44.). Negation of the previous statement is the first stage, and optional application of the same statement is the second stage. That is to say, the underlying concept of the word 'Vibhāṣā' is elaborated in Pāṇini's grammar. Still, it is sure that the material is gathered from the *ptk.*ˢ. These two stages will be discussed at length in the chapter on the term 'Vibhāṣā'. The rule 'Naveti vibhāṣā' suggests that 'Vā' indicates option in general but 'Vibhāṣā' implies prohibition also. This makes a difference between 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' though apparently both terms are equivalent. Even though the words are regarded as of equal status, the word 'Vibhāṣā' is not used even once in the *Tai.ptk.*

One important point is to be noted here. When the *Tai.ptk.* uses the word 'Vā' it has the idea of alternation only and not that of option. The modern dictionaries note various meanings under the word 'Vikalpa' and the ancient linguists were not so much fussy about such shades of options but when one studies Pāṇini he finds that even faint shades of option are specifically marked. As it is already noted, an option is a choice between a sentence and a single word-form while alternation is a choice between the two word-forms. Both the terms 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' indicate alternative forms but only in three contexts these words indicate option. One more point is to be noted here that the terms 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' under the 'Mahā-vibhāṣā' -rules again denote alternatives. For example - 'Vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye' - P. A. 5.4.52. states that the affix 'satI' may be employed alternatively in the sense of 'CVI'. The word 'vibhāṣā' in this rule shows the alternation between 'satI' and 'CVI', so one can use either 'Agnisāt bhavati' or 'Agnībhavati'. These two suffixes 'satI'/'CVI' are also governed by a 'Mahāvibhāṣā' -rule 'Samarthānām prathamādvā' - P.A.4.1.82. The 'Mahāvibhāṣā' allows a sentence or a word-form so a sentence like 'Agnam' ( 'Agneḥ idam ') 'bhavati' also can be used. It is observed that such kind of difference between option and alternation is not seen in the *ptk.*ˢ, Pāṇini has implied it in his grammar though he has not stated it

explicitly. In short, Pāṇini has treated the topic very seriously and scientifically as ·compared to the *ptk.*[5] No *ptk.* among the four mentioned above uses the term 'Anyatarasyām'. This word is used by Pāṇini for the first time as an option - indicative - term. This term is neither used in the Veda [*] nor in the Vedic literature, nor does any *ptk.* use it. It seems that Pāṇini has picked it up from the colloquial language and has used as an indeclinable. The term 'Anyatarasyām' rather shows looseness of the language because this word allows two or more forms to express the same meaning. The forms explained by this term are of less importance, probably they are from some non Pāṇinian region, which are later got mixed in the standard language. Patañjali's hesitation to explain these forms also shows the inferior status of these forms. The rule P. A. 4.3.1 will also show that affixes ordained by this term are weak, in a way and pose a self-denial as juxtaposed against the main rule, still they are to be taken note of because they show a sure trend new or dying out whatever it may be. It is possible to say that the two primary option - indicative - terms 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' show a sister-speech of equal status in popularity while 'Anyatarasyām' indicates sub-dialect.

The *Vāja.ptk.* uses two terms, 'Vā' and 'Bahulam'. Pāṇini's implication of the term 'Bahulam' is exactly the same which is presented in the *Vāja.ptk.* The Annambhaṭṭa -'bhāṣya' on *Vāja.ptk.*[6] says - application, non-application, optional-application and something else than these three are the four types of the operating quality of the word 'Bahulam'. The point will be discussed in details in the chapter on 'Bahulam'. Moreover, it is also observed that 'Bahulam' states general relaxation of all the conditions stated in previous rules. The rule 'Kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam' -P.A.2.1.32. will explain the point. The rules using the term 'Bahulam' are very few in number, but they are important for the peculiar grammatical concept they express. The option (if at all it is called as option) indicated by this term is of a very low degree. In fact this word gives an explanation of the cases where the legitimate operation does not take place with

either positive or negative implication. It just notes the frequency of the operations stated. The point of inefficiency of the word 'Bahulam' is raised by *Vyā.MB* but it is answered properly by Patañjali himself. The discussion is included in the chapter on the word 'Bahulam'. The rules employing the word 'Bahulam' do not show strict optional forms of a word but they give a general idea of a tendency seen in the spoken language. Grammatical strictness is not found in the operations stated by these rules ; but this term functions to avoid the 'Avyāptidoṣa' and 'Ativyāptidoṣa'. The point will be explained in the chapter on the word 'Bahulam', with reference to the rule 'Viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam'- P. A. 2.1.57.

The *Ātharvaṇa -ptk.* uses the terms 'Vā, Vibhāṣā' and 'Bahulam' and this *ptk.* being posterior to Pāṇini shows clear influence of him. This *ptk.* does not use the word 'Vibhāṣā' as a strict grammatical term as Pāṇini employs it in certain rules to denote option but uses the word in its 'Pratijñāvākya'[7] only; but it indicates that the author of this *ptk.* is aware of the option - indicative quality of the word 'Vibhāṣā'. The very first sentence of this *ptk.* says, 'that which is subject to change or varying in grammar ('Sāmānye') is thus and thus here'. It also shows that people were already knowing the term in the option - indicative - sense and thus this *ptk.* has used it in a very general option - indicative - sense. Even the sacrificial texts have used the word in very general sense of alternation. Pāṇini is the first to give strict grammatical status to this term.

In all the four *ptk.*[s], the authorities on grammar are mentioned. Śākalya, Śākaṭāyana and many others are thus honoured by the *ptk.*[s]. Annambhaṭṭa - bhāṣya on the *Vāja.ptk.*[8] 3.87 shows that the concept of limited option and option - indication by sage names was already there.

There is dispute regarding the option - indicative quality of the sage-names and region-names. P. Thieme.[9] deals with this topic. In his opinion these names are not option - indicatives. He subscribes to the view which Patañjali has presented, that the names of

the regions and sages are mentioned for the sake of paying respect
to them and due to the fame of that region.

An important point is to be noted here that there were three
phases of Sanskrit grammar very clearly. The first phase is that of
Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, in the second phase there are some
grammatical schools other than that of Pāṇini and in the third phase
are the commentators on Pāṇini and on the other schools of gram-
mar. It is observed that in the third phase the option - indicative -
quality is attached to the sage-names. Pāṇini never explicitely states
his implications, the commentators had to find them out.

P. Thieme's statement has only partial validity. First of all it
goes against the natural tendency of the language of accepting new
forms and absorbing them in the language so naturally as if they are
its own productions. A common speaker uses the available forms in
the language without thinking about the opinions of the grammar-
ians. In spite of the grammarian's debate on the optional forms peo- ·
ple use them according to their convenience and then the gramma-
rians have to accept and explain them as 'Sthitasya gatiścintanīyā '.
Similar is the case with the forms suggested by the sage-names.
Secondly the concept of 'Aupabhāṣikavikalpa' is also be taken note
of. There are three types of statements as regards the sage-names
and region-names.

1) rules employing the sage-name or region-names.

2) rules employing the sage-name and region-names along
with some option - indicative term.

3) rules employing the sage-name and region-names and the
option - indicative - term is carried over from the previous rule.
In the first type some of the rules do indicate option and the exam-
ples of rules of this type will be discussed in the chapter on sage and
region-names. In the second and third type, the option - indicative -
term indicates the optional operation of a particular rule or optional
use of the form but then those rules are the examples of dialectic
.option or 'Aupabhāṣikavikalpa'[10]. This view is presented by Dr.
Madhava Deshpande. in one of his articles.

Thus, the point which is to be stressed about the rules employing sage-names is that in the Pāṇinian grammar these rules may not be option - indicatives but for a student of Sanskrit grammar they are option - indicatives because for him the perspective is very wide inclusive of Pāṇini's language and also the dialect, represented by a particular sage. A common man being unaware of these grammatical trends and explanations uses any form which is available. He never cares for the origin of the word or for its grammatical status. Capability of the new word to express the same sense which is expressed by the prevalent form is the only criteria for a layman and for him these two forms (they may come either from the 'Pradhānabhāṣā' or the 'Upabhāṣā.' or one from each) are substitutes of each other and thus optional to each other. From this point of view the sage-names and region-names are considered as option - indicatives in this book. Pāṇini's grammar is the linguistic analysis of the two modes of language. The rules employing the sage-region-names reveal out the different usages in different dialects but according to Renou,[11] Pāṇini's references to the dialects are not much with the help of which a complete picture of these dialects can be drawn. Emenau [12] says that along with the mention of vedic usages Pāṇini also mentions usages in other regions. Still it is not possible on our part to decide the exact nature and scope of those languages. At the best it can be said that there were dialects in Northern India, other than the language of Pāṇini, which he has explained thoroughly. Vidyanivasa Mishra.[13] has come to the conclusion that Pāṇini has noted the opinions of his predecessors (which he has accepted or rejected) only due to the respect he has for them.

Such rules are explained with the word 'Matena' (as 'Gārgyasya matena' ) by the commentaries; and the word 'Matena' is translated as 'by the opinion of - - -' or 'in the opinion of - - -'; but the word 'Matena' should be rendered as 'in the dialects, represented by those sages.' For example - See the verbal form 'Asti' (root 'As' - present third person singular). According to Pāṇini the root is 'As'

in the form 'Asti' and in the dual 'Staḥ', 'a' is elided but about the same 'Āpiśali' opines that the root is 'S' - 'Staḥ' is the regular form but in 'Asti', 'A' is an augment. This is the difference of opinion and not the suggestion of option. The two forms of equal status can only be optional to each other. In Pāṇini, the sage-names are 'Vidhi-viśeṣaṇas' denoting the difference in the usages and not in the opinions. Finally, the non-occurrence of a form in Pāṇini's language and the occurrence of the same in other dialects is the real implication of the sage and region-names.

From the quotation of Annaṁbhaṭṭa (i.e. 'Kvacid pravṛttiḥ - ') one more point is clear that the idea of limited option ( 'Vyavasthita -Vibhāṣā' ) was known before Pāṇini. The 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' is generally rendered as 'limited option' but 'regulated option' is better rendering. Kielhorn[14] calls it a device of Indian grammarians. He further comments that when Pāṇini teaches that an operation takes place optionally, we naturally understand him to mean that such operation may or may not take effect in every individual instance which may fall under the rule. This is clearly the opinion of the commentators as may be seen from various critical remarks which are presented on some option - indicative - rules. He adds that to obviate such remarks and generally with a view to account by Pāṇini's own rules for the actual facts of the language the later grammarians have invented the device of 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā'. The implication of the term 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' is that an optional rule need not have an optional application in every case but may be taken to teach i) that a certain operation should take place in a particular case as an obligatory one, while in other cases it should not be allowed to take place at all. ii) that the operation is optional in a limited number of instances, as the case may be, it should necessarily take place or may not take place (c.f.P.A.1.2.21.),which explains the forms 'Dyutita' and 'Dyotita'. According to Kātyāyana this Pāṇinian rule is too wide. It should have been limited to the roots of the first class only. According to the 'Kāśika - Vṛtti' the rule affords an instance

of 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā'. The operation taught by it optionally takes place in the roots of the first class and in the case of other roots it does not take place at all.

As Pāṇini has used different terms to indicate option one can infer about different implications of these terms. As to why Pāṇini has used various terms to indicate option, *Vyā.MB.* at one place explains[15] - 'because this science explains all branches of the *Veda* and because there are various examples, various words are to be used.' In this connection it can also be stated that the option - indicatives can be divided into two classes, primary and secondary option- indicatives. The terms 'Vā, Vibhāṣā, Ubhayathā' and 'Prāyeṇa' fall in the first group while the terms 'Bahulam, Anyatarasyām', some sage-names and region-names and the term 'Vibhāṣitam' comes under the second group. The words 'Chandasi, Ṛci, Yajuṣi' etc. are just to denote the peculiarities of the particular text.

Among the miscellaneous words treated in chapter No 6 the word 'Ubhayathā' is a natural option - indicative - term in day - today language. This word is used along with the word 'Chandasi'. It differentiates the forms from those of the classical language. The term 'Ubhayathā' indicates equal occurrences of both types of examples. All these rules are excluded from comments by *Vyā.MB., B.M., T.B.* The other option-indicative-terms like 'Vibhāṣā' and 'Anyatarasyām' are artificial and purposefully used to indicate a particular type of option but the case is different about the word 'Ubhayathā'. This is an originally option - indicative - term and it indicates a very clear and free option.

The word 'Bhāṣāyām' is generally translated as 'in the classical Sanskrit', but it must be noted that this is not the language of the classical literature ; but is the spoken Sanskrit language at Pāṇini's time. This 'bhāṣā' is 'Vyavahārabhāṣā'. The absence of the word 'Chandasi' itself implies common language, what then, is the implication of the word 'Bhāṣāyām' ? Now all the four rules using this

word deal with the vedic usages. Thus it can be said, that the word refers to the language or style of those performing sacrifices that is to say the 'Yājñika.'.

In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* there are six rules as 'Anyebhyo ç pi dṛśyante' or 'Itarābhyo ç pi dṛśyate' etc. About the authenticity of these rules there is doubt. The point is, whether Pāṇini himself has formed these rules or whether somebody else has inserted them in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The following are the reasons to doubt the authenticity of these rules.

(a)  Pāṇinian rules show a definiteness of a statement and generally the strict application of the rule while these rules allow more cases than those mentioned before, and thus their application seems to be loose.

(b)  They are inconsistant as regards the construction of the rules. Pāṇini never uses a verb in forming a rule, while all these rules employ the word 'Dṛśyante' or 'Dṛśyate'.

(c)  This type of construction is somehow similar to the construction of the 'Vārttika.' and thus these rules can be called amendments. The forms obtained by these rules are optional (if at all the term option is to be used) only because their application is not strict. The occurrence of the forms achieved (gained) by these rules is very rare ; thus the option indicated by these rules is of a very low degree.

The word 'Nigame' occurs thrice in the text and in all the three cases it refers to the vedic text and does not denote option. It is observed that when Pāṇini says 'Chandasi' he knows the definite source; but when he uses the word 'Nigame' it shows lack of exactitude. It seems that he is not in the know of the exact source of the forms explained by the rules using the word 'Nigame'.

The word 'Prāyeṇa' is used only once in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and once it is carried on. The question is why this new word is brought in when other words are there to indicate option ? The answer is, the very introduction of this new word indicates that this option is some-

how different from the other option - indicatives. What the rule 'Puṁsi samjñāyām ghaḥ prāyeṇa'-P.A.3.3.118 implies is that the word 'Prāyeṇa' suggests more usages of the affix 'GHa' than that of 'LYUṬ'. This type of option i. e. frequency of one form and rarity of the other is not denoted by any other option - indicative - term which has been used previously. Thus, to present a new shade of meaning, he introduces a new word.

The word 'Chandasi' and the like do not indicate option but they just denote the peculiarities of the vedic texts. The word 'Mantre' is used four times in the texts. The peculiarities noted by the word 'Mantra' cannot be applied to all the cases of 'Chandas', but the specialities indicated by the word 'Chandas', can be applied to all the rules using the word 'Mantra'. There are also references to the word 'Saṁhitāyām' but they do not indicate the four vedic 'Saṁhitā.'' but to the 'Saṁhitāpāṭha' as against the 'Padapāṭha'.

A few points about the word 'Chandasi' are to be noted here. The relevance of Pāṇinian grammar for vedic studies is a point of debate. The problem is made complicated by the fact that Pāṇini's aim was to describe the 'Bhāṣā' i. e. the spoken Sanskrit with which he was familiar. His treatment of archaic forms is occasional, presented as adjuncts as it were to the main frame of his grammar. Later grammarians either placed vedic rules in a separate section or dropped them altogether (for example - 'Sārasiddhānta-kaumudī').

The number of the rules employing the word 'chandasi' is big as they pertain to a definite type of language and literature which is vast. The word 'Chandas' strictly means a *metre*, but in Pāṇini the sense is not limited to metrical construction, but it has covered even the prose-passages which are later used in the rituals. Goldstücker[16] observes, 'The first meaning of the word 'Chandas' in the ancient writting is 'metre', the second is 'verse in general'; and in this sense it is contrasted with the prosaic passages of the 'Yajurveda'. In Pāṇini this word occurs a hundred and ten times, and its sense extends over two hundered and thirty three rules. The words like 'Ṛci, Yajuṣi,

Kāṭhake' explain the typical usages in those particular texts. The word 'Chandas' shows different shades in its usage, they are noted here but will be discussed in details in chapter No.6.

(a) The general trend is preserved and something new is added, or the general trend is completely violated and the new is established.

(b) Sometimes the optional use in the classical language is negated. For example the suffix 'Nīṣ' is obligatory for the word 'Bahu' and we have the form 'Bahvī' only in the vedic literature; but in the classical both the forms i.e. 'Bahuḥ' and 'Bahvī' are allowed cf. 'Bahvādibhyaśca' - P. A.4.1.45.

(c) The implication of the word 'Acchandasi' is that the tendency which is expected in the vedas is seen in the language and the tendency of language is seen in the veda.

(d) The rules teaching the method of pronunciation are large in number as the vedic 'Saṁhitā' is kept intact by the oral transmission.

Before concluding the introductory chapter let us take a note of some important observations made by P. Kiparsky.[17]

1) Vā - preferred option, is always implemented in the text of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* wherever possible - subject to constraints on its metalanguage. ( P.26 )

2) The rules which are marked by Vibhāṣā  are therefore marginal - are better not to be applied so that the analytical paraphrase Prāg grāmāt is  here preferred to the compound Prāg grāmam.(P.37) P. Kiparksy also seeks support from two rules of the same wording 'Ūrṇotervibhāṣā' - for his statement about the indication of the undesired option by the term 'Vibhāṣā'.

3)  The special rules are optional and their purpose is to restrict the general rules in the particular context. ( P.46 )

4)  P. Kiparsky has a question mark regarding the placement of the term 'Anyatarasyām' in the rules employing the term. He says - 'Finally a striking but isolated and puzzling fact - The

term 'Anyatarasyām' never occurs in the beginning of the rule and only rarely at the middle as in 'Lopaścānyatarasyām mvoḥ' - P.A.6.4.107. But I have not explanation to offer for this restricted position of 'Anyatarasyām'. ( P.197 )

Following are the comments regarding these observations. After the detailed study of P. Kiparksy's opinions it can be stated that the hypothesis put forth by the learned scholar can be agreed with but a few among the cases which he has quoted as the proofs for his statement are difficult to agree with. For example - for the use of the word 'Prāg grāmāt' instead of 'Prāg grāmam' or for the case of the two rules as 'Ūrṇotervibhāṣā' some other explanation can be ventured. The point is discussed at length in the 'Vibhāṣā' chapter. P. Kiparsky. gives stress on the words used by Pāṇini himself - within the mainframe of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* but in a few cases stylistic usages in the language are also to be considered. For example -In the rule 'Tadadhīte tadveda' -P.A.4.2.59 the verbal form *veda* is used instead of the verbal form *'Vetti'*. This seems to be the stylistic use as we often come across the phrases as 'Ya evam veda' in the vedic literature.

As regards his observation about a special rule and optional rule, the point is already explained on P.No. ix of this very chapter.

As regards the placement of the term 'Anyatarasyām' it can be stated thus - The word 'Anyatarasyām' is used as an indeclinable as the other option - indicatives are used. However, the term 'Anya-tarasyām' presents a special feature as a 'Vibhakti-pratirūpaka avyaya'. (Locative -singular of the feminine pronoun 'Anyatarā' - the form is constant wherever it is used.) Thus it can be taken as an adjective for the hypothetical word 'Bhāṣāyām'; and suggesting thereby a foreign language (neither his own nor the language in his vicinity but) some remote minor language. The word 'Bhāṣāyām' is used by Pāṇini in four rules but in all these cases it refers to the 'Laukika-bhāṣā' as against the vedic 'Bhāṣā'; and to keep these two languages separate from the third type of language which is

perhaps not the 'Śiṣṭasammata-bhāṣā' (a dialect) he has used the qualifier word 'Anyatarasyām'. Now, in Pāṇini there is a definite sequence of the place where the operation takes place ( 'Sthānin'), of the operation itself ( 'Ādeśa' or any other operation) and of the conditions in which the operations take place and the option - indicative - terms (in general) are used adverbially. See the following rules:-[18]

    1) P. A. - 7.1.35
    2) P. A. - 4.2.105
    3) P. A. - 8.3.59
    4) P. A. - 2.4.40

In all these cases the word 'Anyatarasyām' is placed at the last position - The reason perhaps is that the hypothetical word 'Bhāṣāyām' (which is being qualified by the word 'Anyatarasyām' is neither mentioned in the rules, nor can be carried over from previous rule) can only be adjusted if the qualifier 'Anyatarasyām' is placed at the last place. The word 'Anyatarasyām' has more connection, with the additional hypothetical word 'Bhāṣāyām' than any other word in the rule (and that is why it is considered as a minor option - indicative - word ). It is neither enjoined to the operation - indicative - word, making it optional nor it is connected with the condition denoting - word to make the condition optional but the word only states the peculiarities of some language which is not Pāṇinian language and thereby makes the rule optional. This is how the last position of the word 'Anyatarasyām' in most of the rules can be explained. With such minor differences in the opinion, I must admit that the book was of a great help to me.

    To take a resume. A close study of option - indicative - aphorisms of Pāṇini reveals the fact that all the option - indicative - words are not of the same value as regards their option - indicative quality, the two words i.e. 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' note the highest degree of option. These terms are not equivalent as the *Tai.ptk.* states but the rules employing these two terms have strict application. The

other terms used by Pāṇini are secondary option - indicatives. It is observed, that whole of the option - indicative terminology has a logical explanation and background of its own. The variety of these terms is not due to the free will of the grammarian but it has perfect warranting explanations.

# References

1   Deshpande, M. M., 'Aupabhāṣika Vikalpa', '*Ṛṣikalpanyāsa*' - Bhārati Pariṣad - Prayag 1970, P.17 - 25

2   Kiparsky, P., 'Pāṇini *as a variationist*', Poona and Cambridge, 1979, P - 46.

3   Sarma, K. M. K., '*Technical Terms in the Aṣṭādhyāyī*', JOR-14 Madras, 1940, P - 259 - 267.

4   Nātha, N. C., '*Pāṇinian interpretation of Sanskrit Language*' Banarasa Hindu University, Sanskrit Series Vol.II, Banarasa, P - 36.

5   Mitra, Rajendralal., '*Tai.Ptk.*' Asiatic society of Bengal. Calcutta, 1872, 22.7
वेति वैभाषिकः ।

6   Sarma, '*Vāja.Ptk.*', V.V, University of Madras, Madras, 1934, 3.18, P.116.

7   Whitney, '*Ātharvaṇa Pratiśākhya*', D.C.S.S. Vol . XX -1962, P.11 एवमिहेति च विभाषाप्राप्तं सामान्ये ।

8   Sarma,V.V., '*Vāja.Ptk.*', University of Madras, Madras, 1934, 3.87, P.137.
परि ण इति शाकटायनः । शांकटायनाचार्यग्रहणं विकल्पार्थम् । सोऽपि व्यवस्थितः। काण्वादेर्भवति न माध्यन्दिनानाम्इति । यथा – 'परि णो रुद्रस्य हेतिः ।', शाकटायनः किम् - ' परि नो रुद्रस्य हेतिः ।

9   Thieme, P.,'Pāṇini *and the ṛk-prātiśākhya*', Vol .V, E.H.Q.1937, P.335 .

10   Ref No 1.

11   Emenau, M.B., '*The dialects of Old-Indo aryan*'-Ancient Indo-European dialects, University of California Press. 1966, P.123.

12  Ibid

13  Mishra, V., '*The Descriptive Technique of Pāṇini*', Janua
    Linguarum. Studies memoride. The Hague Moutont - 1966, P.18

14  Kielhorn, F., '*Reader on Sanskrit Grammarians*', Cambridge.
    1972, P . 132.

15  *Vyā . MB. Vol . II. P . 848 - 49*

    सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्यः आस्थातुम्, उदाहरणभूय-
    स्त्वादिति ।

    See also Ref No. 2 in the chapter on the term 'Bahulam'.

16  Goldstücker, - '*Pāṇini*'- Varanasi, 1965.

17  Kiparsky, P., '*Pāṇini - as a variationist*', Poona and Cambridge,
    1979.

18          A ) तुह्योस्तातङ् आशिष्यन्यतरस्याम् ।

            B ) ऐषमोह्यश्वसो ( ल्यप् शेषे ) अन्यतरस्याम् ।

            C ) ( उदकस्योदः ) एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

            D ) अदः घस्लृ लिट्यन्यतरस्याम् ।

# Chapter - 1

## Option - Indicative - Term - 'Vā'

There are four important reasons to take up the study of the option - indicative - term 'Vā' at the beginning. The term 'Vā' is the original, the oldest and the important word in the whole option - indicative - terminology and the number of the rules, which employ this word is very large. This is the first reason to give priority to this term.

A comparative study of various '*Ptk.*' and that of the '*Aṣṭā-dhyāyī*' reveals the fact that the option - indicative - words which are used in the '*Aṣṭādhyāyī*' are taken from the '*Ptk.*' (excluding the term 'Anyatarasyām' ). The term 'Vā' is very common even in the spoken language and thus is not necessary to define. It is used so naturally even in the '*Ṛk-Ptk.*'[1] that it needs no explanation. The '*Tai.Ptk.*' also employs the word 'Vā'. In this '*Ptk.*' the two terms i.e. 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' are considered as equivalent to each other[2]. The quotation suggests that these two terms are parallel and they denote the same type and degree of option; but in 'Pāṇini', the case differs. According to 'Pāṇini' they differ in their functions. The term 'Vā' is a simple option - indicative - word, having only one stage in the process of option - indication, while the term 'Vibhāṣā' shows two stages very clearly. 'Pāṇini' defines the term 'Vibhāṣā' as ' Naveti vibhāṣā'(P.A.1.1.44), where negation of the previous statement is the first stage and optional application of the same state-ment is the second stage. ( In some cases previous conditions are changed.) This definition shows that the underlying concept of the term 'Vibhāṣā' is elaborated in 'Pāṇini's' grammar, though he has gathered the raw material from '*Ptk.*'. The definition also suggests that the term 'Vibhāṣā' implies prohibition (though partial) while the term 'Vā' is a simple option - indicative. The word 'Vibhāṣā' is not used even for a single time in the '*Tai.Ptk.*' but the word 'Vā' has frequent occurrences[3] and in all those statements the word 'Vā'

suggests a single step option and nothing else. An important point is to be noted here. The '*Tai.Ptk.* ' employs the word 'Vā' in the sense of alternation only and not that of option. The word 'option' suggests the choice between a sentence and a single word. - form ( i.e. 'a Vṛtti or a Samāsa or a Taddhita' etc. ) while the word 'alternation' suggests a choice between two single word - forms. Both the words ( 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' ) are employed to suggest alternative forms but only in three cases they indicate option in the true sense of the word.

Those cases are as follows :-

1. 'Vibhāṣā' - P. A. 2.1.11
2. 'Dhātoḥ Karmaṇaḥ Samānakartṛkādicchāyām vā' P. A. 3.1.7
3. 'Samarthānām prathamādvā' - P. A. 4.1.82

In the Pāṇinian grammar these three rules are designated as 'Mahāvibhāṣā ' and it is observed that two terms 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā', if are used under the province of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rules indicate alternative forms only. The point will be explained in details in the discussion of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - concept. The capacity to express both the shades of the usages i.e. 'option' and 'alternation' is the second reason which elevates the status of the term 'Vā'.

The expression of an important concept like 'Mahāvibhāṣā' is a special feature of the term 'Vā' and that is the third important reason for the study of the 'Vā'-rules. The term 'Vā' has multi-fold indications. In some cases it gives permission to that which is previously prohibited ( P. A.1.3.90 ). In a few cases it indicates 'Vyavasthita - Vibhāṣā' ( P. A. 3.3.14) and in some cases it explains 'Ubhaya - Vibhāṣā' also. This variety in the shades of option is the forth reason to study the term 'Vā'.

The implications of the word 'Vā' are to be found out from the rule - wise study itself.

1) 'Samarthānām prathamādvā' -        P. A. 4.1.82

The chapter on Taddhita ' begins with this, rule. It teaches optional affixing for the 'Taddhita' - formations. This being a

'Mahāvibhāṣā' rule, it is an option - indicative rule in the true sense
of the word and not an alternation - indicative rule : it gives the
choice between a sentence and a single word - form as 'Gargasya
gotrāpatyam pumān' or 'Gārgyaḥ'. The 'Kāśikā' clearly says 'Veti
kim ? vākyamapi yathā syāt '. The 'Taddhita' formation, being the
'Padavidhi ⁵' it is necessary to know about the concept of 'Sāmarthya'
which is explained by the rule 'Samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ' ( P.A.2.1.1).
The rule states that an operation regarding the complete words, is to
be done only if those words are in syntactical connection with each
other. Thus, a compound can be formed out of the two words as
'Upagoḥ apatyam - Upagvapatyam' but not with the two words as
'Upagoḥ śwetam' as they are not capable of fulfilling the expecta-
tions of each other. This ability of forming mutual relationship is
called 'Sāmarthya'. 'Kāśikā', however remarks that 'Sāmarthya' is
'Pariniṣṭhitatva' or that position where the 'Sandhi' - operation is
done. It is certain that in a 'Vṛtti' - form 'Sandhi' - operation must
be done but that can not be the only criteria to decide 'Sāmarthya'
and the statement from 'Kāśikā' should be taken cautiously.

The 'Taddhita' - operation is also a 'Padavidhi' and the
'Taddhita' - form is expected to be a single morphemic unit and the
'Taddhita' - affixes are attached only if the two words are in syntac-
tical connection with each other. When there are two words together
to form a 'Taddhita - vṛtti' naturally the questions is, to which word
the suffix should be added ? The answer is 'Samarthānām
prathamādvā'. The rule teaches that, the 'Pada ⁵' being in syntactical
connection, the affix should be added ( if at all to be added) to that
word which indicates the word that stands first in the aphorism.'
Thus, in the example, 'Upagoḥ apatyam' the affix should be added
to the word 'Upagu' ( not because this word stands first in order of
the two words but ) because the word in the aphorism indicating the
person 'Upagu' ( i.e. 'Upagoḥ') stands first ( i.e. 'Tasya' ) in the
aphorism.⁴ The rule ordaining the suffix 'aN' is 'Tasyāpatyam' ( P.
A. 4.1.92 ). In this rule the word 'Tasya' stands first and thus the

suffix should be added to the word 'Upagu' and the 'Taddhita' -
form is 'Aupagavaḥ', the son of 'Upagu'. In short, the first word in
the aphorism is the base to which suffixes can be attached and it is
technically called as a stem or a 'Prakṛti'. *BM* suggests[5] that instead
of the word 'Samarthānām', 'Samarthāt' should be used but some
scholars are of the opinion that the plural is purposefully used to
indicate that this rule applies only where there is a group of more
than one capable word. A singular can not be used at all because
the very concept of 'Sāmarthya' expects two or more words; thus
the plural termination as is used by 'Pāṇini' is apt. This rule is tech-
nically designated as an 'Adhikāra' or a section - heading rule. The
scientific concept underlying this word is to be explained. Two rea-
sons are stated here to show why it is called a section - heading rule
*B.M.* has explained the point[6].

1.   This rule is marked with a 'Svarita' - accent and because
every word is separately accented, all the three words are carried
. over[7].

2.   No other object of this rule can be shown. The scope of
the rule extends upto 'Prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ' ( P. A. 5.3.1). It governs
about 875 rules i.e. more than 1/5 portion of the '*Aṣṭādhyāyī*'. Each
word of the rule has some definite purpose. The word 'Samarthānām'
indicates that unless there is syntactic relation between the two words,
either a compound or a 'Taddhita vṛtti' can not be formed. Thus, in
the example 'Kambalam Upagoḥ', 'Apatyam Devadattasya', a com-
pound or a 'Taddhita' out of 'Upagoḥ apatyam' can not be formed.
There can be a 'Padavidhi' between 'Upagoḥ kambalam',and
'Devadattasya apatyam'. The option indicative - term 'Vā' suggests
that the choice is between a sentence and 'Taddhita' - form. One can
use 'Upagorapatyam pumān' or the single form 'Aupagavaḥ'.

The previous rule 'Daivayajñi - - -' P. A. 4.1.81 employs the
word 'Anyatarasyām', but the 'Anuvṛtti' of this word is stopped by
the word 'Vā' . In the example given above i.e. 'Upagoḥ apatyam' a
compound also can be formed. The rule '*Ṣaṣṭhī* ' by which a com-

pound is formed (P.A. 2.2.8) is optional and the rule 'Samarthānām - - -' ( P.A. 4.1.82) by which a 'Taddhita vṛtti' is formed is also optional. Thus, we have three forms in the alternative, either a compound as 'Upagvapatyam' or a 'Taddhita vṛtti' as 'Aupagavaḥ' or a sentence 'Upagorapatyam pumān'. 'Pradīpa' explains the point [8] with the 'Utsargāpavāda' - relationship. The use of a plain dissolved sentence is a general tendency (the 'Utsarga' ) and the 'Vṛtti' is a special characteristic (i.e.an 'Apavāda' ). The 'Apavāda' rule generally debars the 'Utsarga' rule and thus the use of the sentence is to be debarred by the 'Vṛtti' - formation but as the 'Vṛtti' itself is optional, a sentence can be used as an alternative. In the sentence, importance is given to the word 'Apatyam'. ( in 'Upagorapatyam' ) while in a 'Vṛtti' - form the word 'Upaguḥ' is prominent as the affixes are attached to it. The specific word which is used by 'Udyota' in the explanation of this rule is 'Upagusambandhaviśiṣṭa'. [9]

About the function of the option - indicative - term 'Vā' it can be safely said that in this rule it denotes 'option' rather than 'alternation'. Here it is not a simple type of option which is denoted in many other rules by the term 'Vā' but it is a very special type of option i.e. the 'Mahāvibhāṣā'-type of option. There are only two rules all over the 'Aṣṭādhyayī' where the term 'Vā' denotes 'Mahāvibhāṣā'. One is the present rule 'Samarthānām - -' and the other is 'Dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkādicchāyām vā' (P.A.3.1.7). The third 'Mahāvibhāṣā' rule ( i.e. 'Vibhāṣā' - P.A.2.1.11) employs the word 'Vibhāṣā' itself, and this rule will be discussed in the 'Vibhāṣā' - Chapter.

2) 'Vā ς sarūpo ς striyām' - P. A. 3.1.94

The verbal affixes, known as 'Kṛt [1]' are taught in this chapter from the rule P. A. 3.1.94. The rule states that, in this section, dealing with the verbal forms ( i.e. verbal nouns and adjectives ) as the affix is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same value, optionally debars it, but not so in the cases of feminine affixes (which are taught in P.A.3.3.94 etc.). 'Kāśikā', on this rule

comments as follows - 'Asmin dhātvadhikāre asamānarūpaḥ pratya-
yaḥ apavādaḥ Vā bādhako bhavati stryadhikāravihitam pratyayam
varjayitvā'.

The purpose of framing this rule can be stated as follows. In
the 'Pāṇinian' grammar a special rule debars a general rule ( 'Utsar-
gādapavādo balīyān' ) However, in certain cases this maxim does
not work. See the three forms from the root 'Kṣip' with the pre-
position 'Vi'. All the three forms i.e. 'Vikṣipaḥ, Vikṣepakaḥ and
Vikṣeptā' denote the agent and yield the same sense. The two forms,
'Vikṣepakaḥ and Vikṣeptā' can be explained by the general rule
'Ṇvul tṛcau' (P. A. 3.1.33) but the form 'Vikṣepaḥ' is also used to
denote the agent of the action intended by the root. This form is
explained by the special rule 'Igupadhajña -' (P.A.3.1.135).
According to the maxim, the form 'Vikṣepaḥ' alone can stand and
the other two forms are debarred as they are explained by the gen-
eral rule. However, in the usage all the three forms are existant and
thus even in the province of the special rule one has to allow the
general rule. In short, the purpose of the 'Vā ç sarūpa' - rule is to
allow the general rule even in the province of the special rule, in the
section where the verbal affixes are treated except in the field of
feminine affixes. The *Vyā.MB*[10], the *Nyāsa*[11] and the *PM*[12] state the
point in different words.

This rule is technically called as a 'Paribhāṣā' - rule. The word
'Paribhāṣā' is used as a grammatical term. This word is not used by
'Pāṇini' any where in his rules though the '*Aṣṭādhyāyī*' contains
many 'Paribhāṣā'-rules. 'Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa' also has not defined the term
in his '*Paribhāṣenduśekhara*'. The word 'Paribhāṣā' is derived from
the root 'Bhāṣ' with the prefix 'Pari'. According to its derivation
the word would strictly mean 'an actual statement which surveys all
around ' and thus some scholars have defined it as 'Parito vyāpṛtām
bhāṣām paribhāṣām pracakṣte.'[13] 'Paribhāṣās' are the statements by
means of which grammatical rules are made adequate and thus a
suitable interpretation of them can be given with the view of arriv-

ing at the correct forms of words. Thus, in simple words, a Paribhāṣā is 'Aniyame niyamakāriṇī': i.e. a 'Paribhāṣā' makes the rule adequate which is not so. This particular 'Paribhāṣā'- rule i.e. P.A.3.1.94 is useful to explain all the special rules which state dissimilar verbal affixes and thus to be read along with those rules. The *PM*[14]. has very apt remark about this point. As is noted above, the 'Paribhāṣā' are read along with the rules. This special feature of a 'Paribhāṣā' - rule is similar to that of an 'Adhikāra' - rule. A section - heading rule ( an 'Adhikāra' - rule ) is also placed at the beginning of the section and is expected to be carried over to each rule of the section. Thus, one may confuse this 'Paribhāṣā' as an 'Adhikāra' - rule. The 'Paribhāṣā' and the 'Adhikāra' have one more point of similarity i.e. 'Pārārthyasāmya'. Both of them help to understand the proper meaning of some other rule; still there is an important point of difference between the two. The 'Paribhāṣā' - rule pervades all the rules and goes wherever it is necessary for the clarification of the sense and the 'Adhikāra' on the other hand enters succesively in order, within its fixed limits. The 'Paribhāṣā' stands in one place and throws light on the whole treatise while an 'Adhikāra' has its limited province. If P.A.3.1.94 would have been an 'Adhikāra' - rule, here the rule 'Svaritenādhikāraḥ' would have been applicable but it does not work here. Moreover, in the feminine - section ( stated by the rule 'Striyām ktin' P. A. 3.3.94 ) this aphorism ( i.e.P. A. 3.1.94) does not work. It goes against the functioning of the 'Adhikāra' - rule. For these two reasons P.A.3.1.94 is not an 'Adhikāra' - rule but is a 'Paribhāṣā' - rule only.

Being a 'Paribhāṣā' - rule it should have wide scope of application, but the careful study of the rule reveals the fact that it has many limitations.

a) This, rule, if to be applied , expects an 'Utsargāpavāda' - relationship between the two rules under discussion. Moreover the suffixes stated by these two rules should be dissimilar in their working element or value. If an exceptional rule itself has an optional

application, the 'Paribhāṣā' under discussion will not work because then the two rules can not have 'Utsargāpavāda' - relationship'. If the two rules have suffixes similar in their working element this 'Paribhāṣā' will not work. For example 'Karmaṇyaṇ' ( P. A. 3.2.1) is a general rule ordaining the suffix 'aṆ' which has working element 'a'. The rule 'Igupadhajñā' - - -( P. A. 3.1.135) is an exceptional rule which ordains the suffix 'Ka', the working element of which is again 'a'. In this example, the values of both the suffixes being the same 'Vā ç sarūpa - - -' will not work.

b) This rule will work only in the case of 'Kṛt' - suffixes and nowhere else. *TB* [15] on the rule 'Alamkhalvoḥ - - -' ( P. A. 3.4.18) says that the optional application of this rule is already explained by the 'Vā ç sarūpa - - -' rule and thus the word 'Prācām' is used to pay respects to those sages and not for option-indication. Here, the 'Paribhāṣā' again shows its limitations.

c) This rule does not govern the feminie section. The word 'Astriyām' clears the point. The *Vyā.MB* [16] puts forth two possible explanations of the word 'Astriyām' and refutes them. Moreover it explains how this rule will not work in the feminine section.

1) Striyāmabhidheyāyām - - -'

' If a feminine - entity is to be denoted ' - this is one explanation of the word. The *Vyā . MB* does not agree with this explanation because in the cases of 'Lavyā and Lavitayā' this rule will not work. The two forms are explained with feminine affixes but in these two forms, 'Tavyattavyānīyaraḥ' ( P.A. 3.1.96) is always debarred by 'Aco yat' ( P. A. 3.1.97) so the given meaning of the word does not suit in the context.

2) 'Strīpratyayeṣu - - - '

It means, ' in the cases of feminine affixes'. With this meaning one cann't explain the forms 'Vyāvakrośī' and 'Vyāvakruṣṭiḥ'. The second form is explained by the rule 'Striyām ktin' and it occurs in the feminine - section but the first form is explained by the rule 'Karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām' (P.A.3.3.43) and this rule does

not occur in the chapter of feminine affixes beginning with 'Striyām ktin' (P.A.3.3.94). Thus, there is no question of the alternative application of the dissimilar suffixes. Thus, this second explanation of the word 'Strīpratyayeṣu' also can not be accepted.

3) 'Stryadhikāraḥ - - - '

The third explanation is presented here and that is to take the word 'Striyām' as a section - heading rule. The word 'Striyām' is to be accented and is to be adjusted with the rule P. A. 3.3.43. Here both the forms one with the 'Ktin pratyaya' and another with 'Ṇac - pratyaya' can be explained. It shows that the word 'Astriyām' applies to those cases where optional forms in feminine do not occur (i.e. Stryadhikāroktam vinā ) and thus the rule 'Vā ç sarūpa - - ' will not work in the feminine section and the exceptional rule will always and unconditionally prevail over the general rule (c.f.Utsargādapavādo balīyān). 'Striyām ktin' ( P.A.3.3.94) is a general rule and 'A pratyayāt' (P.A.3.3.102) is a special rule, 'ti' and 'a' are dissimilar effective elements. According to this 'Paribhāṣā' without the word 'Astriyām', there should be optional application of both the affixes but the word 'Astriyām' suggests that 'a' will always debar 'ti' and the form will be 'Cikīrṣā' only.

In this rule, 'Pāṇini' has presented an ingenious idea of optionalising the prohibition ( i.e. 'Bādhaktvavikalpa' ). As the general nature of the option - indicative rules, option is given for suffixes or for substitutions or there is an option between a sentence and a single word - form ( i.e. a 'Vṛtti' ) but this is the only instance in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* where the 'Bādhaktva' is optionalised. What 'Pāṇini' intends is 'Asarūpaḥ apavādapratyayaḥ Vā bādhako bhavati', that is to say,'dissimilar special suffix debars the general suffix optionally.' He wants to suggest that in the absence of an 'Apavāda' - rule ( provided that the 'Apavāda' rule has an optional - application) the general rule should work optionally. To present this idea he finds out the device of 'Bādhakatva vikalpa' ; when the debarring nature itself is optionalised the 'Apavāda' - rule will allow

the general rule optionally as is already noted in the explanation of the forms as 'Vikṣeptā', 'Vikṣepakaḥ', and 'Vikṣepaḥ'.( on page 6 of this chapter). If the general rule is optionalised and in its absence an 'Apavāda' - rule is permitted, it will go against the maxim 'Utsargādapavādo balīyān' so 'Sāmānya vikalpa' does not serve the purpose. So also if the exceptional rule is optionalised, in its absence it will not permit the general rule again because 'Apavādena mukte utsargo na pravartate'. Thus, to solve the problem and to allow both i.e. a general rule, and an exceptional rule ( in the absence of each other) he has made use of the device of 'Bādhaktva vikalpa'. The commentry 'Nyāsa' [17], has very precise comment on the point.

The concept of 'Asarūptva' is to be explained. If the two suffixes are dissimilar as regards their working elements they are alternatives to each other. The question therefore is how to decide the dissimilarity and the answer is the maxim ( 'Paribhāṣā' ) 'Nānubandhakṛtamasārūpyam.' [18] It states that while deciding the uniformity of the affixes, the indicatory letters are not be taken into consideration. For example, the form 'Godāyaḥ' can be explained by the general rule 'Karmaṇyaṇ' ( P. A. 3.2.1) and the form 'Godaḥ' is explained by the special rule 'Āto ç nupasarge kaḥ' ( P.A.3.2.3). The affixes 'aṆ' and 'Ka', though dissimilar apparently, practically the effective element being the same (the 'Pratyaya - a' ) they are to be treated as similar affixes and therefore the 'Bādhaktva vikalpa' which is ordained by 'Vā ç sarūpavidhi' is not applicable here. Thus, the debarring nature of the special rule ( i.e. 'Āto ç nupasarge kaḥ') can not be optionalised and one is compelled to use the form 'Godaḥ' by cancelling 'Godāyaḥ'. The rule 'Dadātidadhātyorvibhāṣā' (P.A.3.139) is the 'Jñāpaka' for this 'Paribhāṣā'. As regards the explanations of the 'Asarūptva' principle 'BM'. [19] notes that the 'Asārūpya' is twofold: one is 'Upadeśagata' and another is 'Prayogagata'. The 'Prayogagata' concentrates on visible or audible usage while the 'Upadeśagata' has its own value, irrespective of the apparent shape of the suffixes. In the formation of 'Karmakṛt'

*KVIP* is zeroed (θ) and in the formation of 'Karmakāraḥ' 'a' is there, so ' θ ' and ' a ' as they are mutually dissimilar they are optional to each other. This is the 'Upadeṣagata asārūpya' which is to be taken into consideration. If the value of the suffixes is mutually dissimilar in the scientific teaching then those affixes are alternatives to each other.

The word 'Astriyām' indicates that the rule P. A. 3.1.94 cannot govern the feminine section which is directed by the rule 'Striyām ktin' P.A.3.3.94, but the question is whether the rule P.A.3.1.94 governs the sections following the feminine section or the strength of the 'Vā ς sarūpa' rule gets exhausted from the feminine - section onwards. The 'PM' [20] has answered the question by noting that P.A.3.1.94 applies to all those cases which do not fall under the feminine - section. It has also given examples to support its points and those are noted in Reference No. 20.

This discussion about the 'Paribhāṣā' - rule 'Vā ς sarūpo ς striyām' serves as an introduction to the comparative study of the 'Paribhāṣā'-rule P.A.3.1.94 with the 'Mahāvibhāṣā'- rule 'Samarthā-nām prathamdvā' - P.A. 4.1.82. The observations from the detailed study of both the rules are already noted above and here are the points of comparison.

A)  In both the rules suffixes are optionally employed but in P.A.3.1.94 the option sticks to the 'Bādhaktva' while in the rule P.A.4.1.82 option sticks to the general rule itself.

B)  When a general rule (or suffix) is optionalised it allows a sentence as an optional form ( in the case of Vṛtti ' ) and no other suffix comes in as an optional one. When an 'Apavāda' is optionalised the general rule cannot enter again because 'Apavādena mukte utsargo na pravartate' : but when the debarring nature of an exceptional rule is optionalised (as is done by the rule P.A.3.1.94) a general rule can also enter in the province of the special rule in its absence and thus both the forms (i.e. general and special) are explained. Thus, 'Vā ς sarūpa' is a device which is used to get over the situa-

tion created by the maxim 'Apavādena mukte utsargo na pravartate'.

C) P. A. 3.1.94 is a 'Paribhāṣā' - rule, while P. A. 4.1.82 is an 'Adhikāra' - rule. Thus, the technical difference between the concept of 'Paribhāṣā' and 'Adhikāra' must be considered. The point is discussed earlier.

D) The 'Vyā.MB.'[21].discusses one more point. In the 'Taddhita' - section, where the rule P.A.4.1.82 governs, a general rule is optional and a special rule is also optional but in P.A.3.1.94 the case differs. The debarring nature is optionalised in P.A.3.1.94.

E) The rule P.A. 4.1.82 is a 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule. It has un-conditioned scope in its sphere while P.A.3.1.94 is conditioned by the word 'Astriyām' and thus it has a limited field as compared to the rule P.A.4.1.82.

In this way, the purpose of framing these two rules and the mode of application of these two rules are altogether different from each other. All this discussion shows that the function of the term 'Vā' in the rule 'Vā ς sarūpo ς striyām' is unique because it optionalises the Bādhaktva of an exceptional rule. This point elevates the status of the term 'Vā'.

3) Another important 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule, using the option - indicative term 'Vā' is to be discussed and that is 'Dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkādicchāyām vā' - P. A. 3.1.7. The term 'Vā' in this rule indicates an option between a sentence and a desiderative form. The desiderative form is ordained by this rule in certain conditions. The rule teaches that 'the affix 'saN' is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root, expressing the object wished for and having the same agent of the action, as the wisher thereof.' There is one more rule which uses the word 'saN' (as an affix only) and that is 'Ralovyupadhāddhalādeḥ sanśca' (P.A.1.2.26). This rule does not ordain the suffix for any stem but it gives optional 'Kitva' to the suffix 'saN'. The affix 'saN' in the rule 'Dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ - - - ' is stated for the regular formation of the desideratives. It clearly indi-cates phonemic value while in P.A. 1.2.26 the affix 'saN' has got marphophonemic value.

The comment by *'Kāśikā'* [22a] on this rule reveals three important points.

a) The subject of the verb 'to wish' and the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished, should be one and the same ( 'Samānkartṛkaḥ').

b) The affix will not be attached after a word which is used in the instrumental case. That is to say, if the sense of the verb (other than 'Icchati' ) is conveyed by a noun in the instrumental, the desiderative form cannot be used as a substitute ; so in place of 'Gamanena icchati' a desiderative cannot be used. The action wished for is the object of the verb to wish and thus expects accusative case or the expression yielding the sense of accusative as 'Gantum icchati'.

c) The word 'Vā' indicates that optionally a sentence also may be used ; so one can use either 'Gantum icchati or Jigamiṣati'. This rule being a 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule the option is between a sentence and the 'Sanvṛtti'.

*BM.*[22b] notes one more important point. The word 'Dhātoḥ' being specially used in this rule, shows that the suffix *'saN'* in this rule is an 'Ārdhadhātuka' suffix, while the 'saN' which is taught in the two previous rules (i.e. 'Guptijkidbhyaḥ san' P. A. 3.1.5 and 'Mānvadhadānśanbhyo' P.A.3.1.6 ) is a 'Sārvadhātuka' affix. The affix 'saN' being an 'Ardhadhātuka' here takes the augment 'iṬ' and thus the forms are 'Pipaṭhiṣati' or 'Jugupiṣate' ( From the roots 'Paṭh' and 'Gup' respectively). When the suffix 'saN' is 'Sārvadhātuka' by P.A.3.1.5 it will not take the augment ' iṬ' and the form is 'Jugupsate'. With the 'Sārvadhātuka' - affix the form cannot be used in the sense of the desiderative.

Regarding the propriety of the term 'Vā' in this rule, various opinions are presented 'Pradīpa' says [23] - there is optional application of the affix 'saN' and thus in its absence 'kyaC' etc. (which are taught by the following four rules P.A. 3.1.8 - 11) can be applied.

'*Udyota*' [24] comments that 'kyaC' etc. also expect oneness of meaning ( 'Ekārthībhāva sāmarthya') as the suffix 'saN' expects and

thus in the absense of 'saN', the affixes 'KyaC' etc. will not be applied because the non - application of 'saN' will indicate the absence of 'Ekārthibhāva' itself.

This argument can not stand. The application of suffix 'saN' is optional and thus in its absence a sentence can be used. There is no 'Utsargāpavāda' - relationship between 'saN and KyaC', 'kāmyaC' etc. The common idea for the use of these suffixes is that of 'Icchāyām'. In the expressions like 'Putram cikīrṣati', 'Putrīyati' and 'Putrakāmyati' apparently the meaning is the same but the internal structure is different. In the form 'Putrakāmyati' the crude form 'Putrakāmya' becomes a root and in 'Putrīyati' the affix 'KyaC' turns the noun into a verb ( a denominative) and in 'Putram cikīrṣati' the affix 'saN' is applied to the root directly. The word 'Vā' is carried over to three more rules. The rule 'Dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ' is not a section - heading rule but some words from this rule are to be carried over to the following three rules to complete their meaning. Those three rules are as follows:-

1) 'Supa ātmanaḥ KyaC' ('Karmaṇaḥ icchāyām vā') - P.A. 3.1.8
2) 'Kāmyacca' ('Subantāt karmaṇaḥ ātmecchāyām vā') - P.A. 3.1.9
3) 'Upamānādācāre' ('Subantāt ācāre arthe Vā KyaC') - P.A. 3.1.10

The condition of 'Samānakartṛkatva' is still there as the word 'Ātmanaḥ' in P.A.3.1.8 shows, but the important point is that the affixes 'saN, KyaC, kāmyaC', are optional but they are not the alternatives to each other. Each of them allows a sentence optionally. Thus, the three rules P.A.3.1.8 - 10 are the suppliments to the rule P.A.3.1.7 and the concept of 'Mahāvibhāṣā' is extended to these rules by which the scope of 'Mahāvibhāṣā' is extended.

The study of individual units employing the word 'Vā' reveals many implications of the term 'Vā'. These different shades of option, presented by this term are seen through the following rules.

4) 'Ruṣyamatvarasaṃghuṣāsvanām' - P. A. 7.2.28

The rule deals with the augment 'iṬ' in the formation of past passive participle. The rule states that the past passive participle

affix may optionally get the augment 'ĪṬ' after the root 'Ruṣ, Am, Tvar, Saṃghuṣ and Āsvan'. The option indicative term 'Vā' is carried on from the previous rule 'Vā dāntaśānta - - -' P.A.7.2.27; where the term 'Vā' indicates optional non- 'ĪṬ'-position. In the rule P. A. 7.2.28 also the word 'Vā' prohibits the 'Iḍāgama' optionally. The rule P. A. 7.2.28 is 'Ubhayavibhāṣā'. In the case of root 'am' it is 'Aprāpta-vibhāṣā' and in all other cases it is 'Prāptavibhāṣā'.

The root 'ruṣ' which is optionally 'Seṭ' before other affixes ( i.e. before an 'Ārdhadhātukā' affix beginning with 'ta' as in 'Roṣṭā' and 'Roṣitā' ) is invariably 'Aniṭ' before 'Niṣṭhā' and thus one cannot use the form 'Ruṣita' but only 'Ruṣṭa' can be used. To avoid this position and to allow the form 'Ruṣita', the rule includes the root 'Ruṣ'. Here negation of 'Iḍāgama' is due and that is optionalised by the term 'Vā'. In the absence of the term 'Vā' the rule 'Ruṣyamatvara-- ' being a special rule would have superceded the general rule 'Yasya vibhāṣā' and only 'Seṭ'- form ( i.e. 'Ruṣita' ) would have been ob-tained. To avoid this position and get both the forms ( 'Seṭ and Aniṭ') the term 'Vā' is used in this rule. It is noted that for the root 'Am' it is 'Aprāptavibhāṣā'. Before 'Niṣṭhā', the root 'Am' gets the augment 'ĪṬ' optionally and two forms are obtained as 'Abhyāntaḥ and Abhya-mitaḥ' ( 'Aniṭ and Seṭ' respectively). In the *Nirukta* [25] the form 'Abhyamit' is used twice while 'Pāṇini' uses the form 'Abhyam' in the rule 'Jidṛkṣi vyathābhyampari --' P.A.3.2.157. There is a verse [26] which uses 'Seṭ' and 'Aniṭ' forms of the root 'Am' simultaneously.

In the case of the root 'Tvar', the rule P.A. 7.2.28 is 'Prāpta-vibhāṣā'. The root 'Tvar' is exhibited in the 'Dhātupāṭha' and 'Ā' is noted as its indicatory mark, so it is always 'Aniṭ' before 'Niṣṭhā' by the rule 'Āditaśca' (P.A.7.2.16 ) and the only form one gets is 'Tūrṇa' and one cannot have 'Tvarita' at all. To get this 'Seṭ' - form the root 'Tvar' is included in this rule. As it is explained earlier, in the absence of the term 'Vā', the form 'Tūrṇa' will be cancelled by the special rule 'Ruṣyamatvara - - -' and thus the function of the term 'Vā' is to get both the forms. For the root 'Tvar', the rule is 'Prāptavibhāṣā' as

it was in the case of the root 'Ruṣ'. For the roots 'Saṁghuṣa' and 'Āsvana' also the rule is 'Prāptavibhāṣā'. To obtain 'Samghuṣṭa' and 'Saṁghuṣita' and also the two froms as 'Āsvānta' and 'Āsvanita', the optional 'Seṭ tva' is stated by the term 'Vā'.

The function of the option - indicative term 'Vā' is to be specially marked. The roots which are listed in the rule P.A.7.2.28 are 'Aniṭ' by some or the other reason. That 'Aniṭ tva' is debarred by the rule P.A. 7.2.28. It causes the cancellation of an 'Aniṭ'- form ( in this context ) completely and obligatorily but as those 'Aniṭ' - forms are found in the language, the rules which state 'Aniṭ tva' are to be allowed optionally. That is to say the debarring nature of the rule 'Ruṣyamatvara - -' is to be optionalised and the general rule is to be permitted (in the absence of the special rule 'Ruṣyamatvara -' ). In this way, 'Vā' functions to optionalise the prohibitive quality of the special rule. As noted earlier the word 'Vā' in the rule 'Vā ς sarūpa ς striyām' also optionalises the 'Bādhaktva' but in that rule 'Vā' optiona-lises the 'Paribhāṣā' - rule and has greater strength as compared to the function of the term 'Vā' in the rule 'Ruṣyamatvara --'.

5) 'Ghorlopo leṭi vā' - P. A. 7.3.70

This rule occurs in the third chapter of the seven'th book; where the 'Vaidikī prakriyā' is dealt with. The rule states that the final of the roots 'Dā' and 'Dhā' ( i.e. the 'Ghu - roots' ) may optionally be elided in the subjunctive thus there are two forms of each root as 'Dadāt or Dadat' and 'Dadhāt or Dadhat'. The form 'Dadat' is produced by the rule 'Ghorlopo leṭi vā' and by the optional application of the rule ( i.e. without elision) one can arrive at the form 'Dadāt'. The form 'Dadāt' can also be arrived at, even with the elision of the final of the root 'Dā' with the help of the rule 'Leṭo aḍāṭau' - P. A. 3.4.94 which ordains the augment 'āṬ'. If the desired form is obtained with or without elision then there is no propriety in framing the rule for this particular purpose. In this situation, two points are to be noted. The first one is that the rule 'Ghorlopo leṭi vā' is framed to explain the form 'Dadat' (with elision). The term 'Vā' used in this

rule, serves a specific purpose. The form 'Dadāt' can be obtained by two different processes. The first process is that of non -elision of the final vowel of the root 'Dā' and the second process is to add the augment 'aṬ' even after the elision of the final vowel. The use of the term 'Vā' makes the point clear that the form 'Dadāt', which is obtained by either of the process is valid. Thus, it is clear that the form which is deduced by the general rule is also valid because the rule P.A.3.4.94 provides 'Aḍāgama'. The comment of *TB*[27] on this point is very clear and precise. With the intention that one may not confuse the form 'Dadāt' ( without the 'Lopa' of final of 'Ghu' ) with the form 'Dadāt' (with the augment 'aṬ' ) the term 'Vā' is used. Along with the optional application of the elision, in this rule particularly, the word 'Vā' denotes distinctness of the two procedures yielding the same form (i.e. 'Dadāt' ). According to '*Vyā.MB*' the use of the term 'Vā' is unnecessary,[28] for even without the term 'Vā' the form 'Dadāt' can be explained ( by 'Leṭo aḍāṭau' - P.A.3.4.94). In the opinion of some scholars[29] this word 'Vā' is a 'Jñapaka' and indicates the existence of the following maxim 'Anityamāgama śāsanam' stating that the rule about the augment is 'Anitya'. Thus, the augment 'aṬ' being 'Anitya', in its absence the form 'Dadāt' can not be explained. Thus, the term 'Vā' in the rule 'Ghorlopo leṭi vā' optionalises the obligatory elision caused by the special rule for 'Ghu' roots.If the augment 'aṬ' is not applied (due to the maxim 'Anityamāgamaśāsanam' ) the form 'Dadāt' can be explained by the procedure of optional elision. Finally, the purpose of the term 'Vā' is to make both the forms valid ( i. e. the form with elision and the form without elision).

   6) 'Tāvatitham grahaṇamiti lugvā' - P. A. 5.2.77
     The rule is placed in the second chapter of the fifth book; where the affix 'kaN' is treated. The rule states that the affix 'kaN' is added to an ordinal number, in the sense of acquiring a subject after so many attempts and there is optionally the elision of the affix denoting the ordinal number.

There are two important points to note. 1) The affix 'kaN' is obligatory (which is to be attached to an ordinal number) in the sense of acquiring a subject, after a certain number of attempts. The option - indicative term 'Vā' is not be connected with the employ-ment of the suffix 'kaN'. 2) The term 'Vā' is to be connected with the word 'Luk' in the rule. It states the optional elision of the 'Pūr aṇa-pratyaya'. If at all the word 'Vā' is to be connected with 'kaN', it was not necessary to use the word 'Vā' at all, because the optional affixing of the suffix 'kaN' is already suggested by the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' rule 'Samarthānām prathamādvā' and thus the word 'Vā' in this rule would have been redundant. Thus, here it denotes the elision of the 'Pūraṇapratyaya'. In the discussion of the concept of 'Mahā-vibhṣā' it is already explained that if a rule, under the province of any 'Mahāvibhṣā' - rule, again uses some option - indicative - word, it has some other purpose than optionalising the main operation. In this rule, the affixing of the 'kaN' - is not optionalised by the term 'Vā' but the elision of the 'Pūraṇapratyaya' is optionalised. 'TB' [30] has explained the point very clearly.

The 'Pūraṇa' - affixes are ordained by different rules and dif-ferent affixes are attached to different numbers.

1) 'Tasya puraṇe ḍat '                    ( P. A. 5.2.48)
2) 'Nāntād samkhyāder maṭ'                 ( P. A. 5.2.49)
3) 'Dvestīyaḥ'                             ( P. A. 5.2.54)
4) 'Treḥ samprasāraṇam ca'                 ( P. A.  5.2.55)

'Dvitīyena rūpeṇa grahaṇam gṛhṇāti iti - Dvikam' or 'Dvitīyakam gṛhṇāti'.

These two forms i.e. 'Dvikam' and 'Dvitīyakam' clearly show that option is not for the affix 'kaN' but for the elision of the 'Pūraṇa-pratyaya' - i.e. 'tīya'.

There is a 'Vārttika' on this rule which reads as - 'Tāvatithena gṛhṇātiti kan vaktavyo nityam ca luk'. 'Kātyāyana' adds that when the word, formed with the affix 'kaN' means 'a person' who ac-quires after a certain number of attempts, then the elision of the

'Pūraṇapratyaya' is obligatory and not optional. The difference between 'Pāṇini' and 'Kātyāyana' is that 'Pāṇini' states the elision to be optional while 'Kātyāyana' makes it obligatory. One more semantic difference is to be noted. In 'Pāṇini's times, it seems, the ordinal number is used to denote the number of efforts done by the person while 'Kātyāyana' uses it as an adjective of the person himself. This difference in the opinion of the two well-known grammarians shows the changes in the language. From the 'Vārttika' it seems that at 'Pāṇini's times both the forms i.e. 'Dvikam' and 'Dvitīyakam' were used while at 'Kātyāyana's time the only form 'Dvikam' was used. The example that is given to explain the 'Vārttika' is 'Ṣaṣṭhena rūpeṇa grantham gṛhṇāti iti - Ṣaṭko Devadattaḥ' - The form is used as 'Ṣaṭko' and not as 'Ṣaṣṭhako Devadattaḥ'.

'TB'. interpreats the 'Vārttika' in another way. According to TB[31] the 'Vārttika' states the optional elision of 'kaN' itself and thus 'Vā' becomes redundant. The two forms now available with such interpretation are 'Dvitīyakam' or 'Dvitīyam', the form 'Dvikam' cannot be obtained. However the argument of 'TB' cann't stand for the following reasons.

There are two readings available for this 'Vārttika'.

1) 'Tāvatithena gṛhṇātīti kan vaktavyo, pūraṇapratyayasya ca nityam ca luk'.[32]

2) 'Tāvatithena gṛhṇātīti kan vaktavyo nityam ca luk'.[33]

The first reading is quite clear and it does not anyway suggest the optional affixing of 'kaN' because this 'kaN' is not at all ordained by any previous rule. The 'Mahāvibhāṣā' can state the optional elision of any suffix if that suffix is not ordained previously. Moreover the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' cann't elide it optionally because the scope of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' is limited only to indicate option between a sentence or a single word-form. Thus, to indicate optional-elision, some other option-indicative-word is to be used. Moreover, 'Kātyāyana' knows it well that elision of 'Pūraṇapratyaya' is optional

in the sense of acquiring a subject after a certain number of attempts ( and qualifying there by the time ) but he himself wants to indicate ' a person ' acquiring the object after a certain number of attempts and in this sense he states the elision to be obligatory. In short, keeping the purpose of the term Vā in mind he uses the words 'Nityam ca luk' to differentiate between the modified sense as ' a person ' and the previous sense qualifying time and to explain the forms like 'Ṣaṭko - Devadattaḥ'. Thus, it can be said that 'Kātyāyana' gives a modified sense to an affix and thereby notes the difference in the language at 'Pāṇini's time and at his time. The main rule P.A. 5.2.77 also proves that an additional option - indicative under 'Mahāvibhāṣā' states something more than an option between a sentence and a sin-gle word - form and that is alternation.

7) 'Pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā' - ( P. A. 2.1.18)

This rule occurs in the 'Avyayībhāva' - compound section. The rule states that the words 'Pāre' and 'Madhye' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case affix and the compound formed is an 'Avyavībhāva'. According to 'Kāśikā' [34] the words 'Pāre' and 'Madhye' (as they are exibited in the locative case and as they retain the case-termination in the compound) are to be called 'Nipātana'. All the rules which state compounding have op-tional application because of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule 'Vibhāṣā' - P.A. 2.1.11. The rule 'Pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyāvā' comes under the scope of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule, 'Vibhāṣā' - P.A. 2.1.11 and yet 'Pāṇini' uses the word 'Vā'. It indicates some special pupose of the term 'Vā'. The rule 'Ṣaṣṭhī' P.A.2.2.8 which ordains possessive compound (a 'Tatpuruṣa' ) is a general rule and it will be debarred by the spe-cial rule 'Pāre madhye - - -'. Consequently one cann't use a genetive compound with 'Pāre' or 'Madhye' as 'Gaṅgāpāre' etc.. To allow the genetive - 'Tatpuruṣa' in the absence of an 'Avyayībhāva' - com-pound the word 'Vā' is used. There is a maxim 'Yatrotsargāpavādau mahāvibhāṣayā vikalpitau tatra apavādena mukte utsargo na pravartate'. To get rid of this condition the word 'Vā' is used in the

rule 'Pāre madhye'. *'Pradīpa'* [35], while commenting on the rule P.A. 5.1.22 refers to this rule as a 'Jñāpaka' for the maxim 'Yatrotsargāpavādau - - -'.

8) 'Varṇādanudāttāt topadhāttonaḥ' - P. A. 4.1.39

The rule states that the affix 'Ṅīp' is optionally employed after a nominal stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel and having the letter 't' as its penultimate and also the letter 'n' is substituted in the place 't'. This rule is to be studied along with two more rules.

9) 'Manorau vā' - P. A. 4.1.38

The rule states that in forming the feminine with the affix 'Ṅīp', 'au' is optionally the substitute for the final of 'Manu' (as well as the 'Udātta ai' ). In this rule the term 'vā' is used to optionalise the two 'Antādeśa '' i.e. 'au' and 'ai' and one gets three forms as 1) 'Manāyī' -with 'ai'. 2) 'Manāvī' - with 'au' and 3) 'Manuḥ' - without any 'Antādeśa'. Both the forms are used in the literature. The references are as follows :-

1)   'Manāyī' [36]
2)   'Manāvī' [37]

In the case of the words 'Jahnu' and 'Vasu', the only form is 'Jahnāvī' [38] and 'Vasāvī' [39] ( as found in the *'Rgveda'*.)

To come back to the rule under discussion (i.e. 'Varṇādanudā-ttāttopadhāttonaḥ' ) it is observed that the option - indicative term 'Vā' is carried over in this rule from the previous rule 'Manorau vā'. In that rule it optionalies the 'Antādeśa', (a subordinate function) but in the rule 'Varṇādanu - - ' P. A. 4.1.39 it optionalises the suffix 'ṄīP' (a prime function). In the presence of 'ṄīP' only, 't' can be substituted by 'n' and one can get the forms as 'Etā' and 'Enī' but not as 'Enā'. Without affixing 'ṄīP' one cann't substitute 'n' for 't' and once 'ṄīP' is added the substitution is obligatory. It shows that the term 'Vā' in the rule P.A. 4.1.39 is restrictive. The point is supported by the following rule 'Anyato ṅīṣ' P. A. 4.1.40 where the 'Anuvrtti' of the word 'Vā' is discontinued. The rule ordains the

feminine suffix 'Ṅīṣ' obligatorily because the term 'Vā' is discontinued. It shows that the function of the term 'Vā' in the rule P. A. 4.1.39 was to optionalies the feminine suffix 'ṄīP' and not to optionalise the substitution. Thus, P. A. 4.1.40 is the second rule which throws light on the restrictive nature of the term 'Vā' in the rule P. A. 4.1.39.

There are three 'Vārttikaˢ' on the rule 'Varṇādanu - - '. The first Vārttika 'Piśaṅgādupasamkhyānam' ordains the feminine affix 'ṄīP' to the word 'Piśaṅga'. The word 'Piśaṅga' is not a 'Topadha' - word and thus cannot take 'ṄīP' by P. A. 4.1.39, it is ordained by this Vārttika. Thus, the Vārttika indicates that the main object of P. A. 4.1.39 is to add 'Ṅīp' optionally and not to optionalise the substitution. The second 'Vārttika', 'Asitapalitayoḥ pratiṣedhāḥ' also indicates the same point. These two words, being, 'Topadha' and 'Varṇavāci' will undergo the affixing of 'ṄīP' but this affixing is prohibited by the present 'Vārttika'. It also shows that the term 'Vā' in P.A.4.1.39 is to optionalise the 'ṄīP' and not to optionalise the substitution. However, the third Vārttika 'Chandasi knamityeke' states that the affix 'ṄīP' is obligatory but the substitution of 'n' in the place of 't' is optional. In the vedic literature however 'knaM' is the substitute for 't' before 'ṄīP' and thus the forms are 'Asiknī' and 'Paliknī'. This 'Vārttika' is followed by one more important comment 'Bhāṣāyāmapīṣyate' which suggests that 'knaM' is seen in the language also and 'Kāśikā' quotes the line 'Gato gaṇastūṣnī-masiknīkānām'. The two words 'Asiknī' [40] and 'Paliknī' [41] are found in the 'Ṛgveda' and in the 'Av' also 'Pradīpa' on this point comments [42] - that the word 'Chandas' in the Vārttika 'Chandasi knamityeke' is just to account for the examples in the 'Veda'. According to this 'Vārttika' the function of the term 'Vā' is to optionalise the subordinate object ( i. e. substitution) of the main rule.

10) 'Vāhitāgnyādiṣu' - P. A. 2.2.37

The rule teaches that in the compounds 'Āhitāgni' and the like, the 'Niṣṭhānta' - word should be placed first. The previous rule

'Niṣṭhā' P.A. 2.2.36 states that, what ends with a 'Niṣṭhā' shall stand first in a 'Bahuvrīhi' - compound. The rule P. A. 2.2.37 optionalies the rule P.A.2.2.36 in the cases like 'Āhitāgniḥ' and the like and thus the 'Niṣṭhānta' can be placed subsequently. As is observed about the 'Vā' - rule, the option - indicative - term 'Vā' indicates a definite type of option and never allows any kind of uncertainty. According to 'P. Kiparsky', 'Vā' is a preferred option [43]. In this rule however the term Vā is not so strict as it generally is. This 'Āhitāgni' - group is entitled as 'Ākṛtigaṇa'. The 'Ākṛtigaṇa' is that type of word-group which can include some more words of the same type. Thus, this group can include a number of words ( even those words which are not yet used in the language and may be used in the course of time.) This kind of open access to the words somehow harms the strictness of rule, specially of that which is indicated by the primary option - indicative - term 'Vā'.

Moreover the 'Vārttika' which suggests an amendment to the original rule degrades the term 'Vā'. If the compound like 'Udyatāsiḥ' is included in the 'Āhitāgni' - group by the application of the rule 'Vāhitāgnyādiṣu' the form 'Asyudyataḥ' is also to be allowed. The 'Vārttika' on the rule P.A.2.2.37 ( 'Praharaṇārthebhyaḥ pare niṣṭhā saptamyau') however does not allow the usage 'Udyatāsiḥ' and compells the usage as 'Asyudyataḥ'. It clearly shows that, though 'Pāṇini' has foreseen the different usages of words in future and found out the solution for the problems which would arise in future by the way of 'Ākṛtigaṇa', the loose usages in the language are per-mitted by the term 'Vā' which generally 'Pāṇini' does not do. Such forms, the use of which is rather uncertain are explained by some subordinate option - indicative - terms in 'Pāṇini'. Again the Vārttika 'Praharaṇārthebhyaḥ pare - - -' is revised by saying 'Kvacinna, Vivṛtāsiḥ'. According to the 'Vārttika', the words ending in 'Niṣṭhā' or in the locative case stand subsequent when coming after words denoting striking and the form should be 'Asivivṛtaḥ' but the form used is 'Vivṛtāsiḥ'. The change of the place of 'Niṣṭhā' - words in a

compound shows that the option - indicated by the term 'Vā' in the rule 'Vāhitāgnyādiṣu' is not strict. This is very rare example of the rule, where implication of the term 'Vā' is very loose. Even the rule 'Niṣṭhā' is amended by the Vārttika 'Jātikālasukhādibhyaḥ parā niṣṭhā vāchyā' ;which explains the forms like 'Sāraṅgajagdhī, Māsajātaḥ or Sukhajātaḥ' but again this 'Vārttika' is supplimented by the comment 'Prāyikam cedam, Kṛtakaṭaḥ, Pītodakaḥ'. The word 'Prāyika' suggests that the rules and 'Vārttikas' in this context have no strict application and the amendments throw light on the tendencies of actual spoken language and thus the development of Sanskrit language.

11) 'Viṣkiraḥ śakunirvikiro vā' - P. A. 6.1.150

The rule states that the word 'Viṣkira' is formed with the augment 'sUṬ' optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being 'Vikira'. According to 'Kāśikā' [44] (as 'Vasu' interprets it) the word 'Vikira' as is specially mentioned, indicates that 'Vikira' always means a bird and nothing else. Thus, only in the sense of a bird it can have an optional form as 'Viṣkira'. This statement from 'Kāśikā' is refuted by Vasu. The following discussion will make this point clear.

The 'Vyā.MB.' comments, 'The word 'Vikiraḥ' has different meanings but when it denotes a bird it has an optional form as 'Viṣkiraḥ'. Pradīpa' [45] supports the point by saying that as in the case of 'Medhyaḥ paśurvibhāṣitaḥ' there is no option for the 'Paśutva' but the imolation is optional in the same way, here, the option is not for 'Śakunitva' but for the 'sUṬ' augment. 'S. C. Vasu' [46], while explaining the Si.kau on the rule says that the optional application of the augment 'sUṬ' is already noted by the word itself. The use of the word 'Vikira' again is to note that in the senses other than a bird the word 'Vikira' should be used and not the word 'Viṣkira'. 'Vasu' further says that this opinion of 'Kāśikā' can not be accepted because it goes against the Vyā.MB, but the exact 'Anvaya' of the rule shows that the word 'Viṣkira' is to be used to denote the bird only

and in other cases the word 'Vikiraḥ' can optionally be used. The dictionary gives the following meanings of the two words.

a). 'Viṣkira' - 1) scattering about. 2) a cock. 3) a bird in general. (c.f. *Uttara* .II . 'Chāyāpaskiramāṇaviṣkiramukha' - - - )

b) 'Vikira' - 1) scattered portion. 2) a tree. 3) a well. 4) a bird ( cf. *MM* .VI - 'Kaṁkoliphalajagdhimugdhavikiravyāhāri' - )

Both the words have various meanings, two of which are common and those are 'a scattered portion' and 'a bird'. 'Viṣkiraḥ' has the specific sense as a cock. Thus, the rule notes that when 'Vikira' indicates a bird in general it can have optional from as 'Viṣkira' but 'Viṣkira' has no alternative form as 'Vikiraḥ' in any sense other than a bird, in general. So also the word 'Vikira' when means a tree or a well cannot have an optional form as 'Viṣkira'. Thus now the state-ment of *Kāśikā* can be read as - 'Tasya vikalpitasya viṣkira-śabdasya, śakuneḥ anyatra, prayogo mā bhūt'. Further, the state-ment by *Kāśikā* as 'Sarve śakunayaḥ bhakṣyāḥ viṣkirāḥ kukkuṭā-dṛte' shows that all the birds ( 'Śakunayaḥ viṣkirāḥ' ) can be eaten but not the cock. The line further suggests that the 'Pakṣiviśeṣa' can not be indicated by the word 'Viṣkira' as the word cock is excluded. (some may argue that option is stated not for the usage of the word but for the 'Māṁsabhakṣaṇa' ).

According to 'Vasu' [47] 'Śakunirvikira' is a phrase from a 'Vārttika' and not the original part of the rule but the 'Vārttika' is not found in *Kāśikā* or in the *Vyā.MB*. The function of the term 'Vā' in this rule is to note the 'sUṬ - vikalpa'. 'Pāṇini' gives stress on the formative structure while the commentators empha-size on the semantic shade of the word. Finally, the word 'Śakuni' has three different shades of meaning - 1) 'Śakuni', 2) 'Vikira', and 3) 'Viṣkira'. The first indicates all birds. The word 'Vikira' shows non-cock, domesticated flying birds and the word 'Viṣkira' stands for the domesticated non-flying birds like cock and the other. The '*Vāja.saṁ*' [48] gives details of the various kinds of birds which are to be offered in the sacrifice for various gods in various seasons.

12) 'Ṅiti hrasvaśca' - P. A. 1.4.6

From the previous rules P. A. 1.4.4 and P. A. 1.4.5 one comes to know that the 'Nadī' - designation, (which is given to the long 'ī - ū' - endings ) cann't be given to the words which end in 'ī, or 'ū' but admit the substitution 'iyAṄ and uvAṄ'. By the rule 'Ṅiti hrasvaśca' - P. A. 1.4.6 the 'Nadī' - designation is optionally given to the short 'i' and short 'u' ending words, and also to the words i. e. the feminine nouns ending in long 'ī' and long 'ū' which admit of 'iyAṄ' and 'uvAṄ' (but not so the word 'Strī', which is always 'Nadī'.), provided that the 'Ṅit' - affix follows. The prohibition of the 'Nadī' - designation which is stated by P.A.1.4.4 and P. A.1.4.5 is optionalised by the present rule provided that a case - affix having an indicatory 'Ṅ' follows. These are the singular forms of dative, ablative, genetive and locative cases. Thus, one can obtain two forms ( alternatives to each other) as 'Mataye, Matyai' (in dative) or 'Mateḥ, Matyāḥ' (in ablative) but in the masculine cases like 'Agni, Bhānu' etc. it is only one dative form as 'Agnaye or Bhānave'. The comparison shows that the earlier tendency was to conjugate them as masculines and later the feminine suffixes were added to the original word.

The term 'Vā' in this rule indicates 'Aprāptavibhāṣā'. The short ' i ' and 'u' - ending words and even the words which end in long 'ī and ū' but admit 'iyAṄ and uvAṄ' suffixes would not get the 'Nadī' - designation by any previous rule. That designation is given to these words optionally. That is to say that which was not available was permitted optionally with a condition that the case affixes having an indicatory 'Ṅ' follow. (The exception is made for the word 'Strī' which is always 'Nadī' ). The word is carried over from the previous rule 'Vā ṣ ṣ mi'. P. A. 1.4.5.

13) 'Lṛṭaḥ sadvā' - P. A. 3.3.14

The rule states that the affixes called 'sat' i.e. 'ŚatR' and 'ŚānaC' are optionally substituted for ' Lṛṭlakāra'. The 'Kāśikā' [49] has explained it as 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā'. The rule 'Laṭaḥ śatṛśāna cau - -' P.A.3.2.124. states that 'Laṭlakāra' should be substituted by

the affixes 'ŚatṚ' and 'ŚānaC' obligatory. By the present rule (P. A. 3.3.14) 'Lṛṭ' is to be substituted by 'ŚatṚ' and 'ŚānaC' optionally.

The general rule P.A. 3.2.124 and the optional rule P.A. 3.3.14 keep a common condition and that is ' when not agreeing with what does not end in the first case affix.' The replacement by the affixes is obligatory in the cases of 'Lṛṭ' when agreeing with what does not end in the first case affix and it is optional when it does not agree with what does not end in the first case affix. In these cases they will form what is known as future-participles; so one can use the forms like 'Kariṣyantam or Kariṣyamāṇam Devadattam paśya'. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose as 'Ajariṣyamāṇo vasati'. The '*Vyā.MB*' [50] and '*Kāśikā*' have similar wording.

The implication of the term 'Vā ' in this rule is the indication of regulated option. That is to say that in certain cases replacement by the suffixes is obligatory and in certain cases it is optional.

14) 'Voto guṇavacanāt' - P. A. 4.1.44

The rule states that the affix 'Ṅiṣ' is optionally employed in a feminine formation after a word ending in short 'u' and being expressive of quality. Thus, the forms are 'Paṭu' and 'Paṭvī' and 'Mṛdu' or 'Mṛdvī' etc. The use of the term 'Vā' denotes very simple and natural type of option (strictly speaking it is an indication of alternation) between the two word-forms. The point to be noted is that the rule is the example of 'Ubhayatravibhāṣā'. This rule is to be considered as 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' for those words which end in shor 'u' and are expressive of 'Guṇavacana' but if that 'Guṇavacana' is expressive of colour ( 'Varṇavāci' ) (as the word 'Paṇḍu' which also ends in short 'u' ) this rule will be a 'Prāptavibhāṣā' for the reason that the rule 'Varṇādanudāttāttopadhāttonaḥ' P.A.4.1.39 ordains 'ṄīP' for 'Varṇavāci' words. The 'Vārttika' on the rule P.A.4.1.44 however prohibits the affix 'Ṅiṣ' for the word 'Kharu' in its feminine form and thus 'Kharvī' as an alternative cann't be obtained. The case is similar to the word 'Paṇḍu' also and the only form obtained is 'Paṇḍvī'. The question is whether the words like 'Kharu' etc, are

found in the usages? The word 'Kharu' is listed in the 'Vaidika Padānukramakośa' but the reference given is that of the Pāṇinian rule itself and of the same 'Vārttika' under discussion. The words 'Kharvī' and 'Paṇdvī' are not found but the 'Vārttika' does not take note of the word 'Paṇdvī' and states only about the word 'Kharu'.

15) 'Bahvādibhyaśca' - P. A. 4.1.45

The rule states that the affix 'Ṅīṣ' is optionally employed in the feminine after the words 'Bahu' etc. The option-indicative- term 'Vā' is carried over from the previous rule and it denotes simple option ( rather the alternation) between the two word - forms. As a matter of fact the word 'Bahu' comes under the scope of the previous rule, 'Voto guṇavacanāt' and the two alternative forms as 'Bahu and Bahvī' are already obtained then why the word 'Bahu' is mentioned again in this rule is a quesion. The 'Kāśikā' answers it [51] by saying that it is repeated for the sake of the subsequent rule. The following rule 'Nityam chandasi' P. A. 4.1.46 states obligatory 'Ṅīṣ' for 'Bahu' and the rest. The mention of the word 'Bahu' is to carry the whole word - group which begins with 'Bahu'. Thus, the two rules 'Bahvādibhyaśca' and 'Nityam chandasi' point out the difference between the non-vedic and vedic language. The words 'Paddhati' and 'Aṅkati' take optional 'Ṅīṣ' in the language while in the vedic literature they have obligatory 'Ṅīṣ'. ( However the word 'Paddhati' is not found in the vedic literature). This rule is an example of 'Ubhayatravibhāṣā'. For the word 'Bahu', it is 'Prāptavibhāṣā' and for others it is 'Aprāptavibhāṣā'. According to 'BM' [52] it is 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' only. BM. notes that according to the Easterners the mention of the word 'Bahu' is redundant. It further quotes 'Vyā.MB' and says that the numerals do not express quality and thus the word 'Bahu' will not be governed by the rule 'Voto guṇavacanāt' and thus this rule should be treated as 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' only. Moreover the 'Bahvādigaṇa' is designated as 'Ākṛtigaṇa' [53], then naturally it is 'Aprāptavibhāṣā'.

The use of the term 'Vā' is very simple and that is to denote

the two alternative forms (in both the situations i.e. the rule being either 'Ubhayatravibhāṣā' or 'Aprāptavibhāṣā'.) There are three 'Vārttik a s' on this rule but as they do not credit to the study of option-indication, they are not discussed here.

16) 'Jambvā vā' - P. A. 4.3.165

The rule states that the affix 'aN' comes optionally for denoting a fruit after word 'Jambu'; and the·form is 'Jāmbavāni phalāni' (a plural of the word 'Jāmbava' in neuter). This 'aN' being a special suffix (ordained specially by a new rule) will not be elided by P. A. 4.3.163; on the contrary the general suffix 'aÑ' which is ordained by the rule 'Orañ' P. A. 4.3.139 will be elided by P. A. 4.3.163 after its application in the absensce of the suffix 'aN' and the form will be 'Jambūni phalāni'. This point is explained by 'Kāśikā' [54]. In this rule the term 'Vā' is used to optionalise the previous obligatory suffix. In fact, in the absence of the affix 'aN, aÑ'· cannot enter again because 'Apavādena mukte - - - ' but this 'Bādhakatva' is optionalised by the use of the term 'Vā'.

17) 'Pīlāyāḥ vā' - P. A. 4.1.118

The rule states that the affix 'aN' comes optionally after the word 'Pīlā' in denoting a descendent. The word 'Pīlā' being a name of a female, would have taken 'aN' by the rule 'Avṛddhābhya - - -' P.A.4.1.113; but this 'aN' would have been prohibited by 'Dvyacaḥ' P.A.4.1.121 and the same would have prohibited the suffix 'DHAK (iya)' and the form would have been 'Paileyaḥ'. The form 'Pailaḥ' which can be obtained by 'aN' is also to be explained and thus the affix 'aN' which is getting debarred should be reordained for the word 'Pīlā' and thus the rule 'Pīlāyāḥ vā' is framed. The function of the term 'Vā' in this rule is to allow both the suffixes alternatively; the suffix 'aN' which was debarred, that is allowed again and 'DHAK' being special suffix would have been obligatory, that is optionalised. 'Kāśikā's comment [55] on the rule is very precise.

18) 'Lup ca' - P. A. 4.3.166

The rule states that the affix denoting a fruit is optionally

elided by 'Lup' after the word 'Jambu'. The word 'Vā' is to be understood here from the previous rule. The rule 'Lup ca' is an option to the rule 'Phale luk' with the condition of 'Jambuphalatva'. The rule 'Phale luk' states obligatory elision of the affix which is ordained in the sense of fruit, if that fruit is of 'Jambu', elision is optional thus three forms are obtained with two suffixes.

1. Jambū + añ 'Jambu'        ( *aÑ* - elided by '*phale luk*' )
2. Jambū + aṆ 'Jāmbavām'        ( non - elision )
3. Jambū + aṆ 'Jambu'        ( elision )

The function of the term Vā is to optionalise the elision of the suffix (noting a fruit) in the case of 'Jambuphala' which was obligatory by 'Phale luk' P. A. 4.3.163.

19) 'Vā bhāvakarmaṇoḥ' - P. A. 8.1.10

The rule states that when a compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the 'na' of the word 'Pāna' is changed into 'ṇa' when it is in the second member of the compound and the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound. The example is-

1) 'Kṣīrapānam or Kṣīrapāṇam' (if a position is to be noted).
2) 'Kṣīrapānaḥ or Kṣīrapāṇaḥ' ('Camasaḥ' - an instrument).

There is a 'Vārttika' on this rule as 'Girinadyādīnām vā'. '*Vyā.MB*'. comments on this 'Vārttika' by saying - 'Vāprakarṇe girinadyādīnāmupasamkhyānam kartavyam'. The point is, when a compound 'Girinadi' does not denote either a 'Kriyā (bhāva)' or an instrument why it should be added here ? It is explained by saying that, 'Vāprakaraṇa' means any optional rule in the 'Natvaprakaraṇa'. The word 'Vāprakaraṇa' rules out the two conditions of 'Bhāva' and 'Karaṇa' and allows the alternative forms as 'Girinadī' and 'Giriṇadī'. According to *TB* [56] in the cases of proper-nouns this rule is a 'Prāptavibhāṣā' ( cf. 'Pūrvapadāt samjñāyāmagaḥ') and in other cases it is 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' and thus it is 'Ubhayatravibhāṣā'. One finds many words [57] of this type in the '*Rgveda*' also. 'Sāyaṇa' on the word 'Paripāṇaḥ' comments as- 'Paripāṇaḥ parirakṣāsādhanabhūtaḥ', meaning thereby an instrument. The word 'Indra-

pānam' means the 'Soma' itself while 'Indrapāṇam' is the glass with which 'Soma' is to be drunk. The word 'Nṛpāṇam' is also explained by 'Sāyaṇa' as 'Devapānasādhanamiti'.

The term 'Vā' in this rule not only denotes the change form 'na' to 'ṇa' but the word 'Vāprakaraṇa' is added in the explanation which means any optional rule in the 'Ṇatvaprakaraṇa'; and it debars the two conditions of 'Bhāva' or 'Karaṇa' in certain cases and thereby widens the scope of the rule.

20) 'Bhavya geyapravacanīyopasthānīya janyāplāvyā pātyā vā' - P. A. 3.4.68

These words may optionally be used to denote the agent so the alternative meaning is presented like thus

1. Denoting 'agent' -            ( 'Geyaḥ' referring to 'Māṇavakaḥ' )
   'Geyo Māṇavakaḥ sāmnām'.
2. Denoting the 'Karman' -       ( 'Geyāni' referring to 'Sāmāni' )
   'Geyāni Māṇavakena sāmāni'.

The words ( 'Geyaḥ' or 'Geyāni' and those which are listed in the rule ) are formed with the 'Kṛtya' - affixes which denote either 'Bhāva' or 'Karman'. These words are used to denote the agent also optionally. The word 'Kartari' is carried over from the previous rule and 'Vā' in this rule is to be connected with that word only. *BM.* [58] has noted the point. In the cases other than mentioned above, the 'Kṛtyanta [s]' are not supposed to indicate the agent of the action but in these cases these 'Kṛtyanta [s]' are optionally permitted to indicate the agent. The function of the term 'Vā' in this rule is to give permission to certain 'Kṛtya'- ending words to denote the agent optionally. This concession is not given for other 'kṛtya' - ending - words.

21) 'Pṛthvādibhyaḥ imanijvā' - P. A. 5.1.122

The rule occurs in the 'Taddhita' - section of the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī'; where the suffixes for the 'Bhāvakarman' are treated. The rule states that affix 'iman' comes optionally in the sense of 'nature thereof' after the words 'Pṛthu' etc.

This rule is governed by the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule 'Samarthā-

nām prathamādvā' P. A. 4.1.82; so the suffix 'iman' has optional application even without the option - indicative - term 'Vā', and one can use either a sentence or an 'iman' - form. Then what is the purpose of the term 'Vā' ? One may think that the term 'Vā' here is used to allow 'tvā' and 'taL' suffixes which are ordained by the rule 'Tasya bhāvastvatalau' P. A. 5.1.119, but this is also not the purpose of the term Vā. These suffixes can be attached even without the word Vā because they are included in the rule 'Ā ca tvāt' P. A. 5.1.120. To understand the purpose of the term 'Vā', the study of some more rules is required.

The rule 'Igantācca laghupūrvāt' (P.A.5.1.131) ordains the suffix 'aṆ', for the 'ik' - ending words, the preceding syllable of which is short. The words 'Pṛthu' etc. come under this category and thus get the affix 'aṆ'. The rule P.A.5.1.131 is a general rule and the form one gets is 'Pārthavam'. The other words in the 'Pṛthu' - group which are not governed by 'Igantācca laghupūrvāt' are governed by the rule P.A.5.1.124 and that is 'Guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca', thus the words like 'Bahula, Khaṇḍa, Caṇḍa' get the affix 'ṢyaÑ' and the forms are like 'Bāhulyam, Khāṇḍyam, Cāṇḍyam' etc. In the case of the word 'Bālavatsa' etc. the affix 'aÑ' comes by the rule 'Prāṇabhṛjjātivayo vacanodgātrādibhyo ṣ ñ' (P.A. 5.1.129) so the forms are 'Bālyam, Vātsyam' etc. ( one more rule is applied in forming the words 'Bālyam and Vātsyam' and that is P.A. 5.1.128 ). All these three rules i.e.P.A. 5.1.124, P.A. 5.1.129 and P.A. 5.1.131 are general rules and P.A. 5.1.122 is a special rule. These four rules come under the province of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule - P. A. 4.1.82 and therefore have an optional application. When a special rule and a general rule both are optionalised by a 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule then in the absence of the special rule, a general rule cann't claim again. Thus, in the absence of the form 'Prathīmā' one cann't have the form 'Pārthavam' but has to use a sentence. This is undesired situation (which is called as 'Prasaṅga' in grammar). To avoid this situation and to allow the suffix 'aṆ'

etc. the term 'Vā' is used in the rule. Finally, four forms can be obtained and used in the absence of a sentence. Thus chart will be as follows :-

1) A sentence -        'Pṛthoḥ bhāvaḥ'.

                            OR

2) 'Pārthavam'     with     'aṆ'       - a general form.
3) 'Pṛthutvam'     with     'tva'       - a general form.
4) 'Pṛthutā'        with     'taL'       - a general form.
5) 'Prathimā'      with     'imanIC'   - a special form.

      The point is precisely commented by the *Vyā.MB* [59] and *Pradīpa* [60].

22) 'Svaratisūtisūyatidhūñūdito vā' - P. A. 7.2.44

      The rule teaches that the 'Valādi ārdhadhūtuka' - suffix optionally takes 'iṬ' after the root 'Svṛ', after the root 'Sū' (which is conjugated in a twofold way as 'Sūti' and 'Sūyati' ) after the root 'Dhuñ' and after a root which has an indicatory long 'ū'. The purpose of the term 'Vā' in this rule is slightly different. It is to stop the 'Anuvṛtti' of the word 'Liṅsicoḥ' from the previous rule. The point is explained by '*Kāśikā*' [61]. The option - indicative term 'Vā' can easily be carried over from the previous rule 'Iṭ sani vā' P.A.7.2.41; but in the rule P.A.7.2.42 that 'Liṅsicorātmanepadeṣu', the term 'Vā' is connected with 'Liṅsicoḥ' and thus the word 'Vā' if is carried over, will also carry the word 'Liṅsicoḥ' with it. Then the optional - 'Iḍāgama' will take place only in the benedictive mood and S - aorist but that is totally undesired and thus to stop the 'Anuvṛtti' of the word 'Liṅsicoḥ' the term 'Vā' is used again. In short, the function of the term 'Vā' in this rule is twofold i.e. to indicate optional application of the 'Iḍāgama' and to stop the 'Anuvṛtti' of inconsistant words like 'Liṅsicoḥ'. The commentaries [62] explain the point in various ways but arrive at the same conclusion. The mention of the root 'Svṛ' has some specific purpose. This root takes optional 'Iḍāgama' in the benedictive mood and s - aorist by the previous rule 'Ṛtaśca saṁyogādeḥ' P.A.7.2.43. The purpose to include this

root in the present rule is to attach 'Iḍāgama' to this root optionally with a 'Valādi ārdhadhātuka' affix. This root takes 'IṬ' invariably in future by the virtue of the subsequent rule 'Ṛddhanoḥ sye' P. A. 7.2.70 and before 'kit' - affixes the prior - rule P. A.7.2.11 invariably debars 'IṬ'. Thus, it is clear that the addition of 'Iḍāgama' to the root 'Svṛ' is different at different situations. The present rule under discussion suggests optional application of 'Iḍāgama' before 'Valādi ārdhadhātuka' suffix. Thus, the alternative forms, which are obtained by the present rule i.e.P.A.7.2.44 are 'Svarttā or Svaritā, Prastotā or Prastavitā, Sotā or Savitā, Dhotā or Dhavita, Vigādhā or Vigāhitā and Goptā or Gopitā'.

This detailed study of some of the 'Vā' - rules has presented the multifold use of the term 'Vā' under the option - indicative - quality as its main feature. This term is used to denote different shades of option though the general characteristic of this option is 'desired option' - accepted by all. 'P. kipārsky' [63] observes that the optional forms which are obtained by the 'Vā' - rules are preferably used by 'Pāṇini'. And thus it comes to mean that among all the option - indicative - terms 'vā' is the most important one.

The various implication of the term 'Vā' found so far are as follows [64]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1) | To explain the concept of 'Mahāvibhāṣā'. |
| 2) | For clarity. |
| 3) | To optionalise the prohibitive quality. |
| 4) | To denote alternative compounds. |
| 5) | To control. |
| 6) | To explain indefinite option. |
| 7) | To optionalise obligatory suffixes. |
| 8) | To state optional suffixes. |
| 9) | To stop the 'Anuvṛtti'. |
| 10) | To prevent the elision. |
| 11) | To optionalise the 'Āgama' s' ( additions ). |
| 12) | To denote alternatives. |

13)        To note the semantic changes.

14)        To indicate different types of option.

These various implications of the option - indicative - term 'Vā' elevate its status as a *Primary - Option - Indicative - Term*.

---

# References

1.    'Shintre, Shivaramshastri', *Ṛk-Ptk.*, Bombay 1939, P.67.

उदात्तं वोच्यते किञ्चित् स्वरितं वा - - - - । २.३

2.    'Mitra, Rajendralal', *Tai.Ptk.* Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872

वेति वैभाषिकः। वा इत्येष शब्दो वैभाषिको वैकल्पिको भवति। २२.७

3.    *Tai.Ptk.* Ibid

ग्रहणं वा । १.२४

अनन्तरो वा । १.४४

यथा मुखनासिक्या वा । २२.७

4.    *B. M.* ( on *Si.kau.* Vol II ) P.274

प्राथम्यं च तस्यापत्यमित्यादि तत्तत्सूत्रेषु प्रथमोच्चारितत्वम् । समर्थानां मध्ये प्रथमोच्चारितादित्यर्थः ।

5.    Ibid

समर्थात् प्रथमाद्धा इति सुवचम् । केचित्तु बहुवंचन बलात् अनेकसमर्थ समवाय एवास्य प्रवृत्तिः ।

6.    Ibid

विधेयस्यादर्शनात् नायं स्वतन्त्रविधिरिति मत्वा आह-इदं पदत्रयमधि क्रियते इति। स्वरितत्व प्रतिज्ञा बलात् । ( स्वरितेनाधिकारः।)

7.    *T. B.* Ibid

पदत्रयमित्यनेन प्रत्येकं स्वरितत्व प्रतिज्ञा सूचिता । तत्प्रयोजनं तु कस्यचिन्नि-वृत्तावप्यपरस्यानिवृत्तिः ।

8.    *Pradīpa* (on *Vyā M.B.*)Vol I P.365

वाक्येनाभिधाने प्राप्ते वृत्तिरारभ्यमाणा वाक्यस्य बाधिका प्राप्नोति इति विकल्पेन वाक्यस्य पक्षेऽनुज्ञानं क्रियते । तत्रापवादेऽपि विकल्पेन विधीयमाने विकल्पो

वाक्यस्येवानुज्ञानं करोति इति उत्सर्गस्य नित्येन बाधेन भाव्यम्। तत्र वाग्रहणेन उत्सर्गोऽपि पक्षेऽभ्यनुज्ञायते इति त्रैरूप्यं सिध्यति।

on the rule 2.1.18 (*Vyā M.B.* numbers it as 17)

( व्याख्याभाष्यम् )

9. *Udyota.* (Ibid) on the rule 4.1.82 Vol II. P.352

वाक्ये अपत्यशब्देन अपत्यत्वप्रकारिकोपस्थितिः वृत्तौ त्वणा उपंगुसम्बन्धविशिष्ट- स्येति भावः ।

10. *Vyā . M.B.* - Vol .II, on the rule 3.1.94, P. 124

असरूपस्य वावचनम् उत्सर्गस्य बाधकविषये अनिवृत्त्यर्थम् ।

11. *Nyāsa* - ( On '*Kāśikāvṛttiḥ*' - Vol . II) rule 3.1.94, P. 489

अपवादविषयमुत्सर्गो नाभिनिविशते इत्येष उत्सर्गधर्मः । कृताञ्च केषांचित् उत्सर्गगणा- मपवादविषये प्रवृत्तिरिष्यते सा च वचनमन्तरेण न सिध्यतीति तदर्थमिदम् ।

12. *Padamañjarī* ( on '*Kāśikāvṛttiḥ*' ) Vol.II. P. 489

अपवादविषयेऽपि केषाञ्चित् कृतां प्रवृत्तिर्यथास्यात् इत्येवमर्थमिदं वचनम्।

13. Abhyankar, K. V., '*The Paribhāṣenduśekhara*' - B.O.R.I. Poona, 1960, Intro.3.

14. *P. M.* ( on '*Kāśikāvṛttiḥ*' ) Vol.II. P. 490

परिभाषा चेयम् । अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे ण्यधिकारव्यतिरेकेण यानि असरूपस्याप- वादस्य विधायकानि शास्त्राणि तच्छेषभूता तत्र तत्र वचने क्रियमाणे गौरवं स्यादिति साधारणरूपेण भाष्यते ।

15. *T.B.* ( on *Si.kau.* Vol . IV), P.352

ननु विकल्पार्थमेवास्तु, अलं रुदित्वा, अलं रोदनेनेति । रूपद्वयसिद्ध्यर्थमिति चेन्नैवम् । वासरूपन्यायेनैतत् सिद्धेः ।

16. *Vyā . MB.* ( Vol . II.), MBP - Varanasi. 1967, P. 124

स्त्रियामभिधेयायामिति - ल्व्या लवितव्या अत्र वासरूपविधिर्न प्राप्नोति । अथ विज्ञायते स्त्री प्रत्ययेष्विति व्यावक्रोशी व्यावकुष्टिरित्यादि न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि नैवं विज्ञायते 'स्त्रियामभिधेयायां' नापि 'स्त्रीप्रत्ययेष्विति' । कथं तर्हि स्त्रीग्रहणं स्वरयिष्यते । तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवति इति 'स्त्रियाम्' इत्यधिकृत्य ये प्रत्यया विहितास्तेषां प्रतिषेधो विज्ञास्यते ।

17. *Nyāsa* ( on *Kāśikāvṛttiḥ* ) Voll . II P. 491

एवञ्च यस्मिन् पक्षे ऽ पवादो बाधको न भवति तस्मिन् विषये प्रतिबन्धाभावात्
उत्सर्गः प्रवर्तते इति सिद्ध्यति समावेशः।

18. Note No. 13, P.39

नानुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यम् ।

19. *PM* . ( on *Kāśikāvṛttiḥ* ) Vol.II. P. 493

किं पुनः प्रयोगगतमसारूप्यम् आहोस्विद् उपदेशगतम् ? - - -न हि क्विबादयः
प्रयोगे रूपवन्तः, लोपविधानात्तेषाम् । तस्मादुपदेशगतमसारूप्यम् ।

20. *PM.* Ibid . P.493 - 494.

इष्यते च ऋग्यधिकारादूर्ध्वमपि वासरूपविधिः। 'आसित्वा भुङ्क्ते'; आस्ते भोक्तु-
मित्यापि यथा स्याद्, अन्यथा भोजनार्थत्वात् आसनस्य पौर्वकालत्वमवगम्यते
तुमर्थाधिकारात् भावे त्त्वा प्रत्ययस्तत्रैव लकार इति समानविषयत्वात् बाध्य-
बाधकभावः स्यात् । तथा कालो भोक्तुं, कालो भोजनस्य - तुमुना ल्युटो बाधः।
तस्माद् ऋग्यधिकारस्य परस्तादपि वास रूप विधिरेषितव्यः । - - - कृत्य तृच्
ग्रहणं ज्ञापकम् - ऋग्यधिकारस्य परस्तादनित्यैषा परिभाषेति।

21. *Vyā.MB.* (Vol.II),MBP . Varanasi . 1967,  P.125

तद्धितेषु च सर्वमेवोत्सर्गापवादं विभाषा, उत्पद्यते वा न वा ।

22. a)　*Kāśikā* on the rule 3.1.7

इषिकर्मा यो धातुः इषिणैव समानकर्तृकः तस्मादिच्छायामर्थे वा सन्प्रत्ययो भवति।
वा वचनात् वाक्यमपि भवति । धातोरिति विज्ञानात्र सनः आर्धधातुकसंज्ञा न
पूर्वत्र ।

22. b)　*BM* . ( on *Si.kau* ) Vol . II P . 448

धातोः इति विहितस्य एव प्रत्ययस्य आर्धधातुकत्वं, न तु धातोः परस्य ।

23. *Pradīpa* - ( on *Vyā.MB*) Vol . II, ( on Vārttika 5), P.23

कर्म विशेषात् सुबन्तात् क्यजादयः इति भावः ।

24. *Udyota* - Ibid

क्यजादीनामप्येकार्थाभावे एव प्रवृत्तेः सनभावे तदभावान्न क्यजादीनां सावकाशेति
भावः ।

25. *Nirukta* - 6.16

अ ) अमितः अमितमात्रः महान् भवति । अभ्यमितो वा ।

*Nirukta* - 6.23

ब ) अमत्रः अमात्रः महान् भवति अभ्यमितो वा ।

26. Limaye, V. P., '*Critcal studies on the Mahābhāṣya*', Hoshiarpur, V. V. R. I. 1974, P.631

व्याधितो विकृतो ग्लास्नुः ग्लानो मन्दस्तथातुरः ।

अभ्यान्तो ऽ भ्यमितो रुग्णक्षामयावी च दुःसहा ॥

27. *TB* ( on . *Si.kau.*) Vol . IV . P . 432.

लोपे ऽ प्याडागमेन ददादित्यस्य सिद्धौ वाग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् ।

28. *Vyā.MB* Vol.III, P . 223

वेति शक्यमवक्तुम् । कस्मान्न भवति । यदग्निरग्नये ददात् । अस्तु अश्र लोपः, आटः श्रवणं भविष्यति । तेनोभयं सिद्ध्यति –

*Rv*.I. 35 . 8

आगाद्धुप्रत्नो दाशुषे वीर्याणि ।

29. *Pradīpa* - Ibid.

केचित्तु अनित्यमागमशासनमित्यस्य ज्ञापकं वाग्रहणं वर्णयन्ति । अनित्यत्वात् तस्य आटः ददात् इति न स्यात् इति तत् सिद्ध्ये वाग्रहणं क्रियमाणमेनां परिभाषां ज्ञापयति ।

30. *TB* ( on *Si.kau.*) Vol . II, MBP. Patana . 1971, P.565

न तु कनो लुक् । वाग्रहणानर्थक्यप्रसङ्गात् । पञ्चमं पञ्चमकमित्यादि रूपं हि तेन साध्यम् । तच्च महाविभाषाधिकारात् विकल्पेन कन उत्पत्याप्यापि सिद्धमेव । तस्मात्पूरण प्रत्ययस्यैव लुक् सूत्रकारस्याभिमत इति व्याचष्टे।

·31. *TB* Ibid

वार्तिककारस्तु कन एव लुगिति व्याख्यामभिप्रेत्य तावतिथं ग्रहणमिति लुग्वा-वचनानर्थक्यं विभाषाग्रहणादिति आह । तन्मते द्वितीयकं, द्वितीयमित्येवं रूपं न तु द्विकमिति बोध्यम् ।

32. Vasu, S.C., *Aṣṭādhyāyī* ( Vol .II ) MBP.Patana 1962, P.923

33. *Si . kau.* ( Vol .II ) MBP. Delhi 1971, P.565

34. *Kāśikā* on the rule 2.1.18

एतदन्तत्वमनयोर्निपात्यते, महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि ।

35. *Pradīpa* ( on *Vyā.MB* ) Vol . II . P.549

यत्रोत्सर्गापवादौ महाविभाषया विकल्पितौ तत्रापवादेन मुक्ते उत्सर्गो न प्रवर्तते

वाक्यानुज्ञानार्थत्वाद्विभाषायाः । लिङ्गं च 'पारे मध्ये षष्ठया वा','पीलया वा'
इत्यादिषु विकल्प-वचनमस्यार्थस्य इति अण्-समावेशार्थमिह वावचनम् ।

36. 1) *M . S .* 1.8.6

मनुष्य वा इदं मनायी च मिथुनेन प्रजनयताम् ।

2) *M . S .* 4.8.1

आ मनाय्याः उपस्थमापद्यत ।

3) *A V .* P . 2.81.1

मनायी तन्वं प्रथमं पश्येत् ।

(as corrected and quoted by ks.107 . 2)

37. *Kāṭhaka.Saṁ* - 30 . 1

ता इमा मनाव्याः प्रजाः ।

38. i) *Ṛgveda* . I . 116 . 19

आ जुह्नावीं - - - - दर्षतीमयातम् ।

ii)*Ṛgveda* . III . 58.6

युवोर्नरा द्रविणं जुह्वाव्याम् - -, - ।

39. *Ṛgveda* . X . 73.4

वुसाव्यामिन्द्र धारयः सहस्राश्विना - - - ।

40. i) *Ṛgveda* . IX . 73 . 29

पितुर्मातुरध्या - - - त्वचमसिक्नीं भूमनो दिवस्परि' ।

ii) *Ṛgveda* . VIII . 20 . 25

यत्सिन्धौ यदसिक्न्याम् - - - ।

iii) *A V .* I . 23 . 3

असिक्न्यसि ओषधे - - - ।

41. *Ṛgveda* - V . 2 . 4 and VII . 5 . 3

पलिक्नीरिद्युवतयो भवन्ति ।

42. *Pradīpa* ( on MB .) Vol . II, MBP Patana 1967, P.323

अत्र केचित् छन्दोग्रहणं प्रयोगदर्शनार्थमिच्छन्ति । तेन भाषायामपि क्नादेशो भवति।
गतो गणस्तूष्णीमसिक्नीकानामिति। भाष्यकारेण तु एतन्नोपन्यस्तमित्युक्तमित्याहुः ।

43. Kiparsky, P., '*Pāṇini-as a variationist*',Poona & Cam-
bridge.1979, P.26

44. *Kāśikā* on the rule P. A. 6.1.150

विकिरशब्दाभिधेयो वा शकुनिर्भवति विष्किरो वा शकुनौ इति वाग्रहणादेव सुड्विकल्पे सिद्धे विकिरग्रहणमिह तस्यापि शकुनेरन्यत्र प्रयोगो मा भृत् ।

45. *Pradīpa* ( on *MB* . Vol . II ), MBP Patana 1967, P.781

शकुनौ वास्यादिति । इह सिद्धशब्दस्य विकल्पेनाभिसम्बन्धो नास्ति । यथा मेध्यः पशुर्विभाषितः इति नात्र पशुत्वं विकल्प्यते किं तर्हि आलम्भनम् । ततश्चाधिकरण- विकल्पः प्राप्नोति इति भावः । यदि तर्हि अन्यत्रापि स्यात् किमर्थं शकुनिग्रहणमिति चेत् तत्तुल्यजातिप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं स्यात् ।

46. Vasu, S.C., *The Siddhāntakaumudī* - on . 6.1.50, MBP Patana, (1906 -Reprinted), P.603·

47. Vasu, S.C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*' Voll . II, MBP Patana, 1962, P.1107 ·

48. *Vāja. Saṁ.* 24 20 - 25 and also
    *Āpa . śrau.* - 9.3.22

49. *Kāśikā* on p. A. 3.3.14

व्यवस्थितविभाषेयम् । तेन यथा लटः शतृशानचौ तथा अस्यापि भवतः । अप्रथमा- समानाधिकरणेषु नित्यमन्यत्र विकल्पः ।

50. *Vyā.MB* ( Vol. II ), MBP. Patana. 1967, P.210

सद्विधिरप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् । पक्ष्यन्तं पश्य, पक्ष्यमाणं पश्य । क्वतर्हि इदानीं विभाषा । प्रथमा समानाधिकरणे पक्ष्यन् पक्ष्यति, पक्ष्यमाणः पक्ष्यते ।

51. *Kāśikā* on the rule P. A. 4.1.45

बहुशब्दो गुणवचन एव, तस्येह पाठः उत्तरार्थः ।

52. *BM* . ( on Si.kau .) Vol . I . P. 561

गुणवचनत्वादेव सिद्धे बहुग्रहणं व्यर्थमेवेति प्राञ्चः। वस्तुतस्तु अनुपदोदाहृताक - डारसूत्रभाष्यरित्या संख्याशब्दानां गुणवचनत्वाभावाद् अप्राप्तस्य ङीषो विधानार्थं बहुग्रहणमित्याहुः ।

53. Vasu, S.C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*' Vol.II, note on 4.1.45,MBP. Patana, 1962, P.631

54. *Kāśikā* on P. A. 4.1.165

अत्राणो विधानसामर्थ्यात् लुग्भवति, अञ्स्तु भवत्येव । जाम्बवानि फलानि जम्बुनि वा ।

55. *Kāśikā* on P. A. 4.1.118

तन्नामिकाणो बाधके 'ड्यच' इति ढकि प्राप्ते अण् - प्रत्ययः पक्षे विधीयते।

56. *TB*. ( on *Si . kau*.) Vol . II . P . 265

संज्ञायां प्राप्ते असंज्ञायामप्राप्ते उभयविभाषेत्याहुः ।

57. *Ṛgveda* . X . 101 . 8

वृजं कृणुध्वं स हि वो नृपाणो - - - ।

*AV* . 8.5.1

शूरवीरः परिपाणः सुमङ्गलः - - - ।

58. *BM* . ( on *Si . kau*.) Vol . IV, MBP . Patana. 1970, P . 30

कर्तरि कृत् इत्यतः कर्तरीत्यनुवृत्तं वेत्यनेन संबध्यते । तथा च कर्तरि वा एते निपात्यन्ते । अन्यत्र नेति फलति ।

59. *Vyā.MB*. ( on the rule P. A. 5.1.122 ) Vol . II . P . 549

वावचनं किमर्थ ? १) वाक्यमपि यथा स्यात् । नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । प्रकृता महाविभाषा तया वाक्यमपि भविष्यति । २ ) इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् । त्वतलावपि स्याताम् । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्, 'आ च त्वात्' इत्येतस्मात् समावेशात् त्वतलावपि भविष्यतः । ३ ) अतः उत्तरं पठति, पृथ्वादिभ्यः वावचनम् अण्समावेशार्थम्।

60. *Pradīpa* . Ibid

यत्रोत्सर्गापवादौ विभाषा तत्रापवादेन मुक्ते उत्सर्गो न प्रवर्तते, वाक्यानुज्ञानार्थत्वा-द्विभाषायाः । लिङ्गं च 'पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा', 'पीलायाः वा' इत्यादिषु विकल्प-वचनमस्यार्थस्य इति अण् - समावेशार्थमिह वावचनम्।

61. *Kāśikā* - ( on the rule P. A. 7.2.44 )

वेति वर्तमाने पुनर्वाग्रहणं लिङ्सिचोर्निवृत्त्यर्थम् ।

62. *Vyā.MB*. Vol . III, on the rule 7.2.44, P . 136

पुनर्वावचनं लिङ्गसिचोर्निवृत्त्यर्थम् ।

*TB*. ( on *Si . kau*.) Vol . III . P . 95

अन्यथा लिङ्सिज्विशिष्टं वापदमात्रापि लिङ्सिचोरेव विकल्पं कुर्यात् । वाग्रहणे तु वलादिरार्थधातुकमात्रस्य विकल्पः सिद्धः इति भावः ।

*Nyāsā* - ( on '*Kāśikāvṛttiḥ* ' ) on the rule 7.2.44. P . 724

ननु लिङ्सिचोरनुवृत्तौ । स्वरितग्रहणमानर्थकमापद्यते, पूर्वेणैव विकल्पस्य सिद्धत्वात् । नैतदस्ति वचनप्रामाण्यात्, स्वरितग्रहणं नित्यार्थं विज्ञायते ।

63. See the reference 43

64.

६४) १) वाग्रहणं महाविभाषाज्ञापनार्थम् ।

P. A. 3.1.7 , 4.1.82

२) वाग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् ।

P. A. 7.3.30

३) वाग्रहणं बाधकत्वविकल्पार्थम् ।

P. A. 3.1.94 , 5.1.22

४) वाग्रहणं समासप्रकारविकल्पार्थम् ।

P. A. 2.1.18

५) वाग्रहणं नियंत्रणार्थम् ।

P. A. 4.1.38 , 4.1.39

६) वाग्रहणमनियमितविकल्पार्थम् ।

P. A. 2.2.37

७) वाग्रहणं नित्यप्रत्ययविकल्पार्थम् ।

P. A. 4.1.118

८) वाग्रहणं प्रत्ययविकल्पार्थम् ।

P. A. 4.1.118

९) वाग्रहणम् अनुवृत्तिविस्थापनार्थम् ।

P. A. 7.2.44

१०) वाग्रहणं लुग्विकल्पार्थम् ।

P. A. 4.3.66 , 5.2.77

११) वाग्रहणम् आगमविकल्पार्थम् ।

P. A. 6.1.150

१२) वाग्रहणं सामान्यविकल्पबोधनार्थम् ।

P. A. 4.1.44

१३) वाग्रहणम् अर्थान्तरबोधकवैकल्पिकविधानार्थम् ।

P. A. 3.4.68

१४ )  वाग्रहणं विकल्पप्रकारबोधनार्थम् ।

अ ) प्राप्तविभाषा

P. A. 8.3.54

ब ) अप्राप्तविभाषा

P. A. 1.4.6.

क ) उभयविभाषा –

P. A. 4.1.45 , 7.2.28

ड ) व्यवस्थित विभाषा –

P. A. 3.3.14

# Chapter - 2

## ' Vibhāṣā '

The term 'Vibhāṣā', in the group of words which are used by 'Pāṇini' to indicate option, is very important mainly for the following three reasons.

1) This word is frequently used to indicate option and the rules emloying this term, are large in number.

2) 'Pāṇini' has modified the concept behind the word 'Vibhāṣā' and he has added some new implications to it.

3) The 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rules which govern a large portion of the '*Aṣṭadhyāyī*' have the concept of 'Vibhāṣā' as its base and thus to understand the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - concept one must know what is 'Vibhāṣā' in Pāṇini. Moreover, various types of options are noted by the words like 'Prāptavibhāṣā, Aprāptavibhāṣā, Ubhayavibhāṣā' or even by the word 'Vvyavasthitavibhāṣā', and thus it is very much necessary to know the implication of the term along with the rules which have employed the term, either by 'Anuvṛtti' or by direct use of the term in the rule.

The term 'Vibhāṣā' works in a two-fold-way. The rules which employ this word indicate a particular type of option while the words like 'Prāptavibhāṣā, Aprāptavibhāṣā', etc. denote a general type of option.In the classification as 'Prāptavibhāṣā', 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' etc, the word 'Vibhāṣā' is not used in its strict sense as it denotes by the rule 'Naveti vibhāṣā' but it is used to denote a general option because even the rules employing the term 'Vā' can also indicate the option titled as 'Prāptavibhāṣā' and alike. The rule 'navetivibhāṣā' P.A. 1.1.44 which explains 'Pāṇini's' own concept of 'Vibhāṣā', indicates a particular type of option in which negation of the previous statement and optional application of the same are the two stages. In short, the term 'Vibhāṣā' has double-responsibility as the head of the group of the option - indicative - terms and also as a member of that group. As the head it denotes general type of option (with reference to that

particular classification as 'Prāptavibhāṣā' etc.) and it marks a particular type option (with referrence to the rule which employ this term) suggestive of the two stages as 'Na' and 'Vā' respectively. This double type of function hightens the status of the term.

The focus on the origin of this word reveals some interesting points. It is now proved that Pāṇini has selected his option - indicative terminology (except the term 'Anyatarasyām') from the various 'ptk.'' and has modified it according to his own implications. No 'ptk.' uses the word 'Vibhāṣā' as a strict option - indicative - term as 'Pāṇini' implies it but in all the 'ptk. '' it is a general and simple option - indicative - word. The 'Ṛk .Ptk.' nowhere uses the word. The 'Tai.Ptk. [1]' uses this word (not as 'Vibhāṣā' but) as 'Vaibhāṣikaḥ' and that too with the word 'Vā'. This statement of the 'Tai.ptk.' shows that the words 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' are equivalent in status but in 'Pāṇini' the case differs. The aim and objective of the 'Ptk.'' is altogether different from that of 'Pāṇini'. The 'various shades' and 'degrees of option' is not the topic for the 'Ptk.'' to discuss, their goal is altogether different. 'Pāṇini' also has not explained or described the implications of the option - indicative terminology but from the different words he has used the implications can be inferred. In this book, efforts are made to find out these implications and degrees of option - indicated by each option - indicative word. The 'Vāja.Ptk.' does not use this word. In the 'Ātha.Ptk.[2]' this word is used but not as a strict grammatical term, it denotes alternative forms in general. Moreover this 'Ptk.' is posterior to 'Pāṇini' as the chronological order [3] of the 'Ptk.s' indicates; and thus this 'Ptk.' is of no help to know what 'Pāṇini' has taken from this 'Ptk.'. In short, 'Pāṇini' has just picked up the words from the 'Ptk.'' which he found convenient to express his own ideas of option and elevated them to the status of an option indicative terminology. The word 'Vibhāṣā' is used in the ritual texts[4] also and these occurences of this word indicate its regular usage in the day-to-day language. In those texts the word is used as an alternative - indicator. BM.[5] has explained the

point. Though in these texts the word that is used is 'Vibhāṣita', the form 'Vibhāṣā' is implied as it was used in the spoken language. However, there are four rules in the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' which employ the word 'Vibhāṣitam'. They will be discussed at the end of this chapter separately.

The word 'Vibhāṣā' is derived from the root 'Bhaṣ', to speak with the prefix 'Vi'. This prefix indicates the variety in action, denoted by the verb; thus 'Vibhāṣā' comes to mean 'Vividhā bhāṣā', suggesting thereby that which is variently spoken. Dr. Palsule[6] suggests that the word has actually come from the word 'Dvibhāṣā' but this explanation indicates only two alternative forms of a word and where there are more than two forms as alternatives it won't work. Secondly, to explain the variety (even in option) the compound should be split as 'Vividhā bhāṣā' and not as 'Dvividhā bhāṣā'. It may be argued that the rules employing the term 'Vibhāṣā' present only two forms as alternatives to each other and the rules employing the term 'Vā' also present two alternative forms and thus the explanation of the word 'Vibhāṣā' as 'Dvibhāṣā' will bring the two terms (i.e. 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' ) on equal level but that is undesired in 'Pāṇini'. On the contrary, by saying 'Naveti vibhāṣā' he wants to differentiate between the term 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā'.

A few poins are to be noted about the scope and limitations of the term 'Vibhāṣā'. The optional appliation which is indicated by the 'Vibhāṣā' - rules is to be connected with that operation which is obligatory by the previous rule. (This previous rule is not necessarily immediately preceding rule.) It is observed that prior to the 'Vibhāṣā' - rule a general rule is framed which has wide scope of application. Then follows the 'Vibhāṣā' - rule presenting some condition for the optional application of the same operation which is stated in the general rule. The rule-wise study will make the point clear that the rules employing the term 'Vibhāṣā' have limited scope as some condition is added for the optional application of the previous rule. The point will be discussed soon with the examples.

Though 'Pāṇini' has used a number of words to indicate different types of options, the only word he has defined is 'Vibhāṣā'. The topic is discussed at length in the *Vyā.MB* [7] and the gist of the same may be presented here. An important question is asked whether it was necessary to have this rule at all. The '*Vārttika*' says that the option - indicative - quality of such words can be understood even without such kind of rule. On the contrary, the people who don't understand the grammatical rules do understand the underlying concept of such words like 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā', so it was not at all necessary to formulate such a rule. Moreover, the teacher who has inspired this special designation is also no very strict about its use. 'Patañjali' seems to be dissatisfied with the rule 'Naveti vibhāṣā'. *BM.* however tries to solve the problem. It points out that in ritual texts, no doubt, the word is used but there it indicates simple or general option.( 'Kevalavikalpe dṛṣṭaḥ' -see the reference[5] ) but the concept of prohibition and then optional application of the same is something new which 'Pāṇini' wants to introduce. Thus, the formation of the rule 'Naveti vibhāṣā' is very much necessary in the Pāṇinian system. Probably, the negation of the previous rule (which is the first stage of the rule 'Naveti vibhāṣā' ) indicates a dispute regarding such words and their use at the sophisticated level at the times of 'Pāṇini'; (some grammarians accepting those forms and certain others not accepting them.) Thus, 'Vibhāṣā' indicates two different phases and not an undisputed regular use. According to P.Kiparsky [8] the rules which are marked by the word 'Vibhāṣā' indicate marginal option.

In the rule 'Naveti vibhāṣā' - 'Na' i. e. negation is the former stage and 'Vā' - optional application is the later stage. The word 'Iti' also carries much importance in this rule. The rule 'Svam rūpam śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā' P.A.1.1.68 gives an important convention in 'Pāṇinian' grammar. Thus, in the absence of the word 'Iti' the two words 'Na' and 'Vā' would stand for their own word-forms and not for their meanings; but the 'Iti' reverses the case. *BM.*[8a] rightly re-

marks that if the words 'Na' and 'Vā' would stand for their own word-forms a difficulty would arise in the rules like 'Vibhāṣā śveh'. The words 'Na' and 'Vā' would be substitutes for the root 'Śvi', to swell. To avoid such undesired situation the word 'iti' is used. Limaye, V. P., [8b] has a note on this point and he also notes that this rule is quoted and made use of by Mishra Vanamālī in his 'Śruti-siddhānta - dīpika'.

In the Pāṇinian grammar two types of 'Saṃjñā' are used i.e. the 'Śabdasaṃjñā' and the 'Arthasaṃjñā'. The word 'Vṛddhi' is a 'Śabdasaṃjñā' while the words like 'Karma, Kartā' etc, are the 'Arthasaṃjñā' ; and certain case terminations are used for that which is denoted by the words karma, kartā etc. The word 'Vibhāṣā' is also an 'Arthasaṃjñā' ; and thus the combined meaning of the two words (i. e. 'Na' and 'Vā' ) is the meaning of the term 'Vibhāṣā'.

This rule is mainly framed for the sake of 'Ubhayatravibhāṣā'. The traditional classification shows three types of 'Vibhāṣā'. 1) 'Prāptavibhāṣā', 2) 'Aprāptavibhāṣā', 3) 'Prāptāprāptavibhāṣā' or 'Ubhayatravibhāṣā'.

When a general operation which is already stated by a previous rule is optionalised by the subsequent rule, it is called a 'Prāpta-vibhāṣā' type of option. When there is a statement, optional by its very nature and made for the first time in that particular case, without any previous reference, it is called an 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' type of option. The intermediate between these two is called 'Ubhayatra-vibhāṣā'. The point can be explained with the pair of the rules, i.e. 'Sarvādīni sarvanāmāni' P.A.1.1.27 and 'Vibhāṣā digsamāse bahuvrīhau'. P.A.1.1.28. The 'Bahuvrīhi' compounds denoting directions may be designated as pronouns because they are governed by the general rule P.A.1.1.27; but in certain conditions that general rule is restircted and to be applied optionally. In the rule P.A. 1.1.28, the condition of 'Digbahuvrīhitva' is newly added and the designation as 'pronoun' which was obligatory by P.A.1.1.27 is optionalised. In short, 'Prāptavibhāṣā' is that kind of rule which de-

clares optional application of the obligatory previous rule, with the addition of some new condition or sometimes with the modified condition. Ample examples are studied of the 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' and 'Ubhayatravibhāṣā' type in the 'Vā' - chapter of the book. It also shows that this three-fold classification is not restricted to the 'Vibhāṣā' - rules only but it applies to other option - indicative - terms as well.

A sentence is made up of two parts which are connected with each other with a definite morphemic relation. In the grammatical terminology, these two parts are called the 'Uddeśya' (i.e. the sub-ject part) and the 'Vidheya' (i.e. the predicate part). The 'Uddeśya' - part informs about the subject itself and the 'Vidheya' part informs about the activity or qualities of the subject. The word 'Vibhāṣā' is used as an adverb and thus is included in the 'Vidheya' - portion of the sentence. The main point lies in connecting this word with the verb. The rule 'Vibhāṣā digsamāse bahuvrīhau' is to be understood thus- 'Sarvādīni sarvanāmāni digsamāse bahuvrīhau sarvanāma - samjñāni vibhāṣā bhavanti'. In this sentence the first two words can be designated as 'subject' or the 'Uddeśya' - part and the remaining sentence is the 'Vidheya' - part. The word 'Vibhāṣā' implies that the grammatical operation which is ordained by the rule and is placed in the predicate part is not obligatory (as is stated by the previous rule) but has optional application in certain situations. Thus, the word 'Vibhāṣā' is not only the part of the predicate but is also a qualifier of the predicate.

The word 'Vibhāṣā' is at the base of concept of 'Mahāvibhāṣā'. The name itself suggests the wide scope of application of the rule coming under this category. Those option indicative rules, the field of which is greater than a general 'Vibhāṣā' - rule, are to be called 'Mahāvibhāṣā' rules. There are only three 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rules in the 'Aṣṭāthyāyī'. Out of these three rules, two rules i.e. P.A.3.1.7 and P.A.4.1.82 employ the word 'Vā' and are studied in the 'Vā' - chapter of the book. The third rule uses the word 'Vibhāṣā' and that

is 'Vibhāṣā' - P. A. 2.1.11. The two 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rules out of the three are used as the section - headings.

The rule 'Vibhāṣā' - P. A. 2.1.11 is the section heading for compound - section.

The rule 'Samarthānām - - -' P. A. 4.1.82 is the section - heading for the 'Taddhita' - section.

The 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule 'Vibhāṣā' states that the rules coming hereafter, have optional application. It indicates that a sentence also can be used in the absence of the compound. This rule also suggests that the 'Avyayībhāva' - compounds which are noted prior to this rule are obligatory ones. This obligatoriness of those rules would have been carried over in the absence of this 'Vibhāṣā' - rule and all the compounds would have been obligatory. To avoid this situation, by this 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule the compounds are made optional. The function of an option - indicative - term under the province of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule is already discussed in the study of the rule 'Pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā', in the 'Vā' - chapter of this book. Some observations regarding the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule 'Vibhāṣā' - P. A. 2.1.11 are presented here.

1)  If two rules are claiming on the same word - group and if these two rules are ordaining two different compounds then the relation of the two rules or the two compounds to each other should be that of alternatives and not that of 'Utsargāpavāda'. The double use of the option - indicative - terms imply this very concept (cf. 'Pāre madhye' - - - in the 'Vā' chapter.)

2)  The 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule 'Vibhāṣā' P. A. 2.1.11, in the compound section gives the option between compounding and non - compounding. That is an option between a compound and a sentence. There are some alternation - indicative rules which indicate alternation between the different types of compounds.

3)  The word 'Nityam' under the scope of 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule 'Vibhāṣā' P. A. 2.1.11 does not debar the function of the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule but it suggests a particular operation regard-

ing a particular compound to be obligatory as in the rule 'Tiṣya punarvasvoḥ - - -' P. A. 1.2.63 the dual is constant.

4) This 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule has the limited scope for compound section only. It will govern only compounding and non - compounding. If the rule teaches about 'Samāsānta' or any other operation, 'Vibhāṣā' P. A. 2.1.11 cann't govern it.

5) The use of the option - indicative - term 'Bahulam' under the province of P.A.2.1.11 modifies the function of the is 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule. Though the rule P.A.2.1.11 permits the optional use of a sentence in the absence of a compound this rule does not denote any kind of uncertainty as the word 'Bahulam' does. Thus, the use of the term 'Bahulam' under this 'Mahāvibhāṣā' denotes that in some cases compounding is imperative - like 'Kṛṣṇasarpaḥ' while in some other cases it is completely forbidden. It shows that the word 'Bahulam' restricts the scope of this 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule.

The observations regarding the other two 'Mahāvibhāṣā'' are already presented in the 'Vā' - chapter, in the study of those particular rules. The concept of 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' is to be discussed here. Many times the technical term 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' is translated as limited option; but the word 'Vyavasthā' means a 'system'. The rules, application of which is systematically ascertained, are to be called 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' - rules. The optional application of such rules don't yield two pairs of alternative forms but they generally indicate two groups of words where the examples · in one group always show the positive application of the statement· while the second group shows the negative application. The 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' type of option is not indicated exclusively by the term 'Vibhāṣā' but the other option -indicatives like 'Vā' or 'Anyatarasyām' also denote it. It is observed that the important ideas in grammar like 'Mahāvibhāṣā' or 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' are not explained with the help of minor option - indicatives like 'Prāyeṇā' or 'Ubhayathā' but some primary option - indicative word is used to explain them.

Having thought about the general scope and limitations of the

term 'Vibhāṣā' some important rules are to be studied to know the exact implication of the term.

1) 'Vibhāṣopayamane' - P. A. 1.2.16

As the background for this rule, the previous rule 'Yamo-gandhane' P. A. 1.2.25 is to be studied. The rule P. A. 1.2.15 states that the affix 'sIC' before 'Ātmanepada' is 'KIT' after the root 'Yam', to divulge. The root 'Yam' has various meanings. In this particular sense as 'Gandhana' the 'sIC' affix becomes 'KIT'. If this root 'Yam' is used to denote the sense of 'Upayamana' i. e. to espouse, the 'sIC' before 'Ātmanepada' - affixes is optionally 'KIT'. With the condition of the meaning as 'Upayamana' the 'Kitva' is optionalised. That is to say, the condition of the previous rule is changed. The word 'Upayamana' in the rule means 'to accept in marriage', to espouse. The root 'Yam' preceded by the preposition 'Upa' has 'Ātmanepada' when it means 'to espouse' by the rule 'Upādyamaḥ svakaraṇe' P. A. 1.3.56.

2) 'Vibhāṣopapadena pratīyamāne' - P. A. 1.3.77.

The rule discusses about the 'Ātmanepada' of the roots. The previous rule P. A. 1.3.72 that is 'Svaritñitaḥ - - -' declares that after the root, marked with a 'Svarita' or which has an indicatory 'Ñ' ('ÑIT') the terminations of the 'Ātmanepada' are employed when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The rule P.A.1.3.77 changes the condition. By the preceding five rules (from 72 to 76) the 'Ātmanepada' -terminations are ordained to come after the verbs which imply the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denotes this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an 'Upapada' (that is by a word governed by the verb) the necessity of using the 'Ātmanepada' - affixes, to denote the same idea is obviously removed and in such cases it is optional, i.e. the 'Parasmaipada' - terminations also can be used; as an example one can have the forms like 'Svam putram apavadati or apavadate'.

The study of these two rules P. A. 1.2.16 and P. A.1.3.77

reveals the fact that the rules employing the term 'Vibhāṣā' add some new condition to the previous general rule and then optionalise the general operation and if the general rule already has some condition stated in it, it is changed with referrence to the 'Vibhāṣā' - rule.

3) 'Vibhāṣā grahaḥ' - P. A. 3.1.143

The two rules, which precede this rule i. e.P. A. 3.1.141 and P.A.3.1.142 ordain the suffix 'Ṇa' to certain roots. The rule P.A. 3.1.142 adds the new condition of 'Anupasargatva' to the root 'Du' (to burn) and root 'Nī' ( to lead). The affix 'Ṇa' is optionally applied to the root 'Grah' is the implication of the present rule 'Vibhāṣā grahaḥ'. As the wording of the rule shows  neither a new condition is added here nor any condition is modified but the usages themselves explain this rule as a 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā'. It is not a free option which solely depends on user's wish but it is a restricted option in the sense that the suffix 'Ṇa' should always be employed when the word to be formed means a water-animal such as shark or crocodile and in that sense the word is 'Grāhaḥ' but the suffix is not to be applied when heavenly luminaries are meant. It shows that the affix is employed optionally but there is restriction on the meaning, to be conveyed by these two alternative forms. The point is explained by *Kāśikā* [9] in precise words.

The 'Vyavsthitavibhāṣā' can be indicated even with the option-indicative-term 'Vā' as 'Pāṇini' has done it in the rule ' Lṛtaḥsadvā' P.A.3.3.14. The rule is discussed at length in the 'Vā' - chapter. This 'Vyavsthitavibhāṣā' is also indicated by the word 'Anyatarasyām' and the rule is 'Śāchoranyatarasyām' P.A.7.4.41. The rule states that short ' i' is optionally substituted for the final of 'Śā' ('Śo') and 'Chā' ( 'Cho') before an affix beginning with 't' and having an indicatory 'k'. Here the division is like this. The root 'Śā' always takes 'i' when it means a vow but in other cases two forms can be seen; 'Niśitam' or 'Niśātam'. The form 'Niśitam' is found in the *Ṛgveda*. [10] The rules 'Vibhāṣā līyateḥ' P. A. 6.1.51 or 'Aci vibhāṣā' P. A. 8.2.21 are the examples of the same type.

4)  'Yasya vibhāṣā' - P. A. 7.2.15.

There is one more interesting rule which employs the word 'Vibhāṣā' but does not indicate optional application of the operation and that is 'Yasya vibhāṣā' P. A. 7.2.15. The rule states that the particular affixes do not take 'IṬ ', after those roots to which another suffix can optionally be added with or without this augment 'IṬ'. The rule uses the word 'Vibhāṣā' and still does not indicate optional application of ' Iḍāgama' in certain cases. Why is it so ? because the word 'Vibhāṣā' in this rule is connected with the subject part of the rule about which some operation is stated. In all other rules, as explained earlier, the option - indicative - term 'Vibhāṣā' falls in the 'Vidheya' - part of the rule and therefore optionalises the operation stated by the rule; only in this case the implication of the word 'Vibhāṣā' is changed. Here it is not used as an scientific grammatical option - indicative term but is used as a simple option denotator in the common language.

Along with the word 'Vibhāṣā', Pāṇini also has used the word 'Vibhāṣitam' to indicate option; and thus the word can be included in his option - indicative terminology. There are four rules all over the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' which use the word 'Vibhāṣitam'. This word also is used adverbially as the word 'Vibhāṣā' is used. The word 'Vibhāṣita' is used in the 'Nirukta'.[11]

A) 'Jaṅgaldhenuvalajāntasya vibhāṣitamuttaram' - P. A. 7.3.25

Before a 'Taddhita' - affix having an indicatory 'Ñ, Ṇ' or 'K' the 'Vṛddhi' is substituted for the first vowel of the compounds ending in 'Jaṅgal, Dhenu' and 'Valaja' and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also. That is to say, the 'Vṛddhi' - substitution for the first member is obligatory while for the second member it is optional; so the forms are 'Kaurujāṅgalam' or 'Kaurujaṅgalam', 'Vaiśvadhainavam' or 'Vaiśvadhenavam' and 'Sauvarṇa bālajaḥ' or 'Sauvarṇa balajaḥ'.

B) 'Vibhāṣitam viśeṣavacane bahuvacanam' - P. A. 8.1.74

The rule states that if the preceding vocative is plural in number it is optionally considered as non-existent if the subsequent vocative in opposition with it is a specific term. The rule 'Āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavat' - P. A. 8.1.72 states the previous vocative to be non-existent. The rule, 'Nāmantrite samānādhikaraṇe - - -' P.A. 8.1.73 states prohibition to the non-existence of the preceding vocative. The rule under discussion suggests a compromise between the two rules provided that the subsequent vocative in opposition with the first is a specific term. For example -

'Devīḥ ṣalurvīḥ urū naḥ kṛṇota' [12]

Here 'Ṣal' is the adjective of 'Devīḥ', so also 'Devāḥ śarmaṇyāḥ' [13], here 'Nighāta' of the second is optional.

C) 'Vibhāṣitam sopasargamanuttamam' - P. A. 8.1.53

An imperative preceded by a preposition and not in the first person following after an imperative of verbs of motion may optionally retain its accent, when the 'Kāraka' is not wholely different.

D) 'Hanta ca' - P. A. 8.1.54

The word 'Vibhāṣitam' is carried over in this rule. The rule states that an imperative, with an 'Upasarga' (preposition) preceding, may optionally retain its accent in connection with 'Hanta' but not in the first person.

The general observation about the rules employing the word 'Vibhāṣitam' are as follows. It is quite clear that 'Pāṇini' has taken this word from the ritual texts. Neither the 'Saṃhitā' use this word nor any 'Ptk.', but the ritual texts use it. The word form 'Vibhāṣitam' is picked up as it is and the idea underlying this word is also retained as it is. The word denotes simple option, an option of a very low degree. When the word 'Vibhāṣā' is used so frequently to denote option and when the word is treated as the primary option - indicative why the word 'Vibhāṣitam' is used at four instances is the real question.

A glance on the structure of these two words i. e. 'Vibhāṣā' and 'Vibhāṣita' will show the grammatical difference between the two. The word 'Vibhāṣā' is a noun derived out of the root ' Bhāṣ' with the prefix 'Vi' while 'Vibhāṣita' is a past passive participle of the same root. This structural difference in the two forms also throws light on their usage. An explanation may be ventured. The examples for these four rules are from ancient Sanskrit (mainly vedic Sanskrit). These are rare examples and are not found in the modern language. The past participle indicates that this is not that frequent and free option which is denoted by the word 'Vibhāṣā' but these forms as they are found rarely, are somehow to be explained. One may not find these optional forms anywhere else than these specific examples and for their rare occurence they are explained by the term 'Vibhāṣitam' suggesting there by their past - usage with option. It suggests that such kind of option is not a usual practice but for 'Sthitasya gatiścintanīyā' the word 'Vibhāṣitam' is used. Thus, the options suggested by the term 'Vibhāṣitam' can not be admitted as the strict rules, accpted by all but are the slang forms, with per- haps the single occurence. It is also found that in these four rules employing the term 'Vibhāṣitam', a conditional relation is expected between the two words. For example-see the rule 'Vibhāṣitam viśeṣavacane - - '. P. A. 8.1.74.

The rule is to be explained in conditional terms as 'when the preceding vocative is plural in number - -. if the subsequent voca- tive in opposition with it is a specific term'. Such kind of particular relation is expected and thus the rule gets restricted in its applica- tion. The rule P.A.8.1.53 is also of the same type. It states that 'an imperative preceded by a preposition and not in the first person, following after an imperative of verbs of motion - - when the 'Kāraka' is not wholely different'. Here again one can observe the condi- tional relation between the two words one is that which undergoes the operation and the other denoting the particular situation.

Here is a review of what P.Kiparsky has observed about the

word 'Vibhāṣitam' [14a] According to him," The term 'Vibhāṣita' oc-
curs three times in the '*Aṣṭādhyāyī*'. The difference between
'Vibhāṣita' and the other terms is syntactic. Whereas 'Vibhāṣā, Vā'
etc. are adverbial qualifiers to the process to be translated as 'applies
optionally' (marginally) etc.; 'Vibhāṣita' is itself a focus item to be
translated as (is) optional. This has atleast one interesting conse-
quence which distinguishes 'Vibhāṣita' in function." He supports
his view with one of 'Vibhāṣita' - rules and further remarks - " The
adjectival character of the word 'Vibhāṣita' is convenient here to
enable the option to be unambiguously restricted to just one of the
two processes effected by the rule and for its continuation in the
next rule. All these minor terms ( 'Ubhayathā, Prāyeṇa, Bahulam,
Vibhāṣitam' ) have in common that they are rarely contiued with
'Anuvṛtti', another indication of their peripheral role in the system
(one in one case  P. A. 6.4.76 'Bahulam' is continued - it is an
anomalous case)". P. Kiparsky has noted only three cases where the
word 'Vibhāṣita' is used but they are four in number. The rule 'Hanta
ca' P. A. 8.1.54 carries over the term 'Vibhāṣita' from the previous
rule. This will add one more case (as P. Kiparsky has noted the
single case of 'Anuvṛtti' of 'Bahulam' ) to the group where the minor
words like 'Ubhayathā' or 'Bahulam' or 'Vibhāṣitam' are rarely
continued.

P. Kiparsky also observes [14.h] that the forms explained by
the 'Vibhāṣā' - rules are avoided by 'Pāṇini' in his own usage (i. e.
in framing the rules) and P.Kiparsky. points out some cases to sup-
port his observation. He stresses the point of user's wish which is
the very base of the concept of option and suggests that 'Pāṇini' is
not inclined to use those alternatives forms which are explained by
the 'Vibhāṣā' - rules. In this regard it may be noted that the point of
user's wish is important only in the case of a common speaker who
has got every choice to use the words of his own inclination but
'Pāṇini' as a grammarian (and specially as an author of a grammati-
cal treatise) cann't avail this choice for his language and has to abide

the rules and regulations which he himself has framed. The 'Viprati-ṣedha' - maxim, the principle of structural convenience and the very famous concept of brevity are the important points to explain the use of particular words by 'Pāṇini'. A serious thought is to be given to the rule, 'Ūrṇoter vibhāṣā' P. A. 7.3.90. The rule P. A. 7.3.90 explains the optional from 'Ūrṇauti' but 'Pāṇini' in framing the rule uses the general form 'Ūrṇoti' and therefore P.Kiparsky infers that 'Pāṇini' avoids those forms which are explained by the 'Vibhāṣā' - rules. Three strong reasons can be presented to explain the use of the word 'Ūrṇoti' (instead of 'Ūrṇauti'). 1) The verbal form 'Ūrṇoti' is the original from (which is obtained by affixing regular verbal terminations) 'Ūrṇauti' is the alternative form (with 'Vṛddhi'). The word ūrṇoti is used as a 'Sthāna' (in which modifications take place) and 'Ūrṇauti' is a 'Sādhya'- form. When the form is yet to be explained how can he use it in his rule; and specially in that particular rule which itself is explaining the form. In short, the form 'Ūrṇoti' is the available, accepted and grammatically explained base and thus he is bound to use the form 'Ūrṇoti'. 2) Secondly it is markable Pāṇinian style to use third person singular forms of present tense of the roots as the base of the modification taking place later; and the forms he uses are common and can easily be explained by the simple rules of grammar. For example, 'Bhavaterah or Hanterjaḥ' (P.A.7.4.43 and P.A.6.4.36 respectively). The forms 'Bhavati' and 'Hanti' of the third person are used to suggest the modification in the original root. In the same way the common form 'Ūrṇoti' is used to suggest the change of 'Vṛddhi' - operation in the case of root 'Ūrṇu'. 3) The third reason for the use of the word 'Ūrṇoti' is the structural convenience. In the following rule the word 'Ūrṇoti' is to be carried over and form 'Ūrṇauti' will not serve the pupose; thus to be fit in the expected 'Anuvṛtti' - process the word 'Ūrṇoti' is used.

From the discussion it is clear that the words which are used by 'Pāṇini' in his 'Vibhāṣā' rules are not used by the free-will of the

grammarian but they have warranting explanations. The other cases presented by P.Kiparsky can also be explained with different principles of 'Pāṇini' himself. It is also observed that 'Pāṇini' gives stress on brevity while using a particular word and avoiding the alternative form of the same word. Thus P.Kiparsky's statement in this context is to be taken cautiously. Finally, the term 'Vibhāṣā' is employed[15] -

a) To indicate two types as option ( 'Vikalpa' ) and alternation ( 'Paryāya' ).

b) To explain two stages of optional statements ( as 'Na' and 'Vā' ).

c) To present the concept of 'Mahāvibhāṣā'.

d) To indicate three modes of option.(as 'Prāpta, Aprāpta', 'Ubhayavibhāṣā' and 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' ).

e) To mark the undesired optional forms of the words. ( according to P. Kiparsky - but the argument is discussed above. )

# References

1) Mitra, Rajendralal, *'Tai.Ptk.'*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta - 1872

वेति वैभाषिकः । २२. ७

2) Whitney, W.D. *'Ātharvaṇa prātiśākhya'* Vol.XX., C. S. S. 1962, P.11

एवमिहेति विभाषाप्राप्तं सामान्ये ।

3) Mitra, Rajendralal, *'Tai.Ptk.'*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872, ( Introduction).

a) 1. *Rk.ptk.* 2. *Tai.ptk.* 3. *Vāja.ptk.* - respectively between 700 B. C. to 500 B. C.

b) Pāṇini - 500 B .C.

c) *Ātha.ptk.* . after 500 B. C.

4) *Vyā.MB* ( Vol. I ) P. 243

( सिद्धान्तवार्तिकम् )

याज्ञिकाः खल्वपि संज्ञामनारभमाणाः 'विभाषे' त्युक्ते अनित्यत्वमवगच्छन्ति। तद्यथा मेध्यः पशुर्विभाषितो मेध्यो ऽ नड्वान्विभाषितः इति । आलब्धव्यो नालब्धव्य इति गम्यते ।

5) *BM.* ( *Si.kau.* Vol . I ) on the rule 1.1.44 p.34

'मेध्यः पशुर्विभाषितः' इत्यादि याज्ञिक प्रयोगे विभाषाशब्दः केवलविकल्पे दृष्टः।

6) Palsule, G. B. '*The root bhās - in the Sanskrit grammatical terminology*', *Indological studies*, (Vol.II), Journal of the Dept of Sanskrit, University of Delhi, January, 1974, P.70-71

7) . *Vyā.MB.* Vol . I . P. 243

( सिद्धान्तवार्तिकम् )

अशिष्यो वा विदितत्वात् ।

and

आचार्यः खल्वपि संज्ञामारभमाणो भूयिष्ठमन्यैरपि शब्दैरेतमर्थं सम्प्रत्याययति बहुलम्, अन्यतरस्याम् .उभयथा, वा एकेषामिति ।

8) Kiparsky, P. '*Pāṇini - as a variationist*', Poona and Cambridge. 1979, P.37

8. a) *B.M.* ( on *Si.kau.* ) Vol . I, on the rule P. A. - 1.1.44, P.34

इति शब्दाभावे स्वं रूपं शब्दस्येति न वा शब्दयोः स्वरूपपरत्वान्न वा शब्दयो-र्विभाषासंज्ञेत्यर्थः स्यात् । ततश्च विभाषा श्वेः इत्यादौ नवाशब्दौ आदेशौ स्याताम्। इतिकरणे तु नायं दोषः ।

8. b) Limaye, V. P., '*Critcial Studies on the Mahābhāṣya*', V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur, 1974. 102 (3/10), Chāṅ.upa. 6.1.4, P.66.

मृत्तिकेति सत्यम् । इत्यत्र इति शब्दः शब्दे अर्थप्रकरणात्वात् । उक्तं हि - 'न वेति विभाषा' इत्यत्र इतिकरणः क्रियते सो ऽ थनिर्देशार्थः । तद्यथा 'गौरित्ययम्' इत्यत्र गोशब्दः स्वार्थे त्यत्त्वा शब्दपरः तथा 'न वा' इत्यत्र शब्दप्रकरणे अर्थपरः इति ।

9) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Varanasi, on the rule 3.1.143, P . 168.

विभाषा ग्रहेर्धातोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति अचोऽपवादः, ग्रहः, ग्राहः । व्यवस्थित विभाषेयं जलचरे नित्यं ग्राहः, ज्योतिषि नेष्यते, तत्र ग्रहः एव ।

10) *Rgveda* - IV . 24.8

दुरोण आ निशितं सोमसुद्भिः ।

11) Sarup, L., 'Nirukta', The Uni. of Punjab, Lahore, 1934, 10.17.
अस्य धातोरन्ते स्थितः षकारस्तस्यान्तरं स्थानं लिङ्गी एवं शीलः । षकारस्थाने
वकारः प्रविशतीत्यर्थः । विभाषित गुणत्वाच्च शिवोऽपि सिद्धः ।

12) Ṛgveda - X. 128.5 and also Tai.saṁ 2.4.8.1

13) Bau.Śrau . 13.39.2

द्वितीयस्यामाबध्नाति देवाः शर्मण्या मित्रावरुणार्यमन्त्रित्यमहोरात्रे एवोपरंमति ।

14. a) Kiparsky, P. 'Pāṇini - as a variationist', Poona and Cambridge.
1979

14. b) Ibid - P.55

१५ )    विभाषाग्रहणं विकल्पार्थम् ।
P. A. 2.1.11 - option
P. A. 1.2.16 - alternation
विभाषाग्रहणम् अवस्थाद्वयबोधनार्थम् ।
P. A. 1.1.44
विभाषाग्रहणं महाविभाषाबोधनार्थम् ।
P. A. 2.1.11
विभाषाग्रहणं विकल्पप्रकारबोधनार्थम् ।
P. A. 3.1.143
विभाषाग्रहणमनीप्सितशब्दबोधनार्थम् ।
P. A. 7.3.90

# Chapter - 3

# 'Bahulam'.

In the option - indicative - terminology which is used by Pāṇini, the word 'Bahulam' is important for its underlying concept though the rules employing this term are a few in number. The type of option which is indicated by this term is of a lower degree but it is noteworthy for its peculiar character. Apparently, the term 'Bahulam' means 'many times' or 'variously'; so the operations marked by this term suggest frequency of that particular operation rather than option. The two forms, which are obtained by 'Bahulam' - rules cann't be placed side by side as alternatives to each other. Whether this peculiar quality of the word should be regarded as option - indicative or not is yet to be decided but tradionally even this word has been given the status of an option - indicative - term.

The *Vyā.MB.*[1] in the discussion of a rule, that employs the word 'Bahulam', raises a point about the necessity of the use of the term 'Bahulam'. A brief account of that discussion can be presented here. According to the objector the term 'Bahulam' is not strong enough as regards its option - indicative - quality. ( 'Akṛtsanam' *or* 'Aparipūraṇam' = 'small' or inefficient'). The word being inefficient , the operations ordained by the rules using this word are as if not ordained according to one set of opinions but the other set of opinion does not agree with the first group. It argues that the science of grammar includes all the branches of the *Veda*; so the rules are also to be framed to explain various types of usages from different branches and thus one cann't do justice by accepting only one way of explanation. That is why various words like 'Ekeṣām', 'Anyatarasyām' etc. are used. *Pradīpa*[2] supports the point by saying, 'this is not the inefficiency of a particular term but is a special quality which supports the usage so there is no restriction about the use of a particular term.

The origin of the term is to be traced. This term also is found in the *'Ptk.'*, as the other option - indicative - terms are. Though the *'Ṛk - Ptk.'* and *'Tai.Ptk.'* do not use this term, the *'Vāja.Ptk.'* uses it. The rule in which the term 'Bahulam' is employed is as follows - 'Niśabdo bahulam'.( *'Vāja.Ptk.'* 3.18). The rule states that the presentation of the word 'Ni' is uncertain. This 'Ni' is elided in four ways.[3]

1)  ' Ni' - completely elided - *Ṛgveda* IV . 58.3
2)  'Ni'- not elided (retained) *Vāja . saṁ*. 8.43
3)  'N'elided, 'i' remains - *Ṛgveda* -X 140.5, *Tai.saṁ*. 4.2.7.3
4)  'I' elided, 'n' remains - *Tai.saṁ*. 4.3.1.1

These four examples are given by 'Annambhaṭṭa' in his commentary on the *'Vāja.Ptk.'*. In this way there is no regularity in the forms which are explained with the term 'Bahulam'. The four examples should be studied carefully. Except the third example, in all other cases 'Ni' is a nominitive plural suffix of the neuter gender. The explanation of these three examples does not create any problem but about 'Iṣkartāramadhvarasya' there arises a question. In those three examples the elision or non-elision does not make any difference in the meaning of that sentence while in the forth case, the elision of 'n' definitely changes the meaning of that sentence and perhaps it can be exactly reverse. But some quotations from the *'Ṛgveda'* [4] itself show that the word 'Iṣkṛti' is many times explained by the word 'Niṣkṛti' or 'Saṁskṛti' by 'Sāyaṇa', though some negative particle is used with the word 'Iṣkṛti'. The point still remains that if the-'n'- part is taken away whether the meaing will change or not? (The explanation needs a probe into the functions of 'Upasarga' [5] and so on, the topic is irrelevent here). The point therefore is 'Bahulam' shows uncertainty. The *'Ātha.Ptk.'* [5] also uses the word 'Bahulam' but this *Ptk.* being posterior to 'Pāṇini' is not helpful to trace the origin of the Pāṇinian terminology.

The commentary of Annambhaṭṭa quotes four types of 'Bāhulakatva' - 1) application 2) non - application 3) optional application 4) something else than application. These four shades of the use of

the term 'Bahulam' have widened scope of the term. In all the rules
which employ the term 'Bahulam', the term is translated as
'diversely' and only in one exceptional case it is translated as 'op-
tionally' ( i.e. in P. A. 6.3.14). The dictionary translates the word
'Bahulam' as 'in different directions' and the word 'Vikalpa' (option)
is translated as 'left to one's choice'. To equate the dictionary mean-
ing with these four shades one can say that the word 'optionally' is
the paraphrase of three shades i.e. 'Kvacid pravṛttiḥ kvacidapravṛttiḥ'
and 'Kvacid-vibhāṣā' and the fourth part 'Kvacidanyadeva' is equiva-
lent to 'diversely'. Most of the rules of the word 'Bahulam' come
under the fourth category. P. Kiparsky[7] translates the word 'Bahulam'
as 'variously', 'sporadically' or 'irregularly'; and further adds a note
' This indicates that the rule is subject to further conditions not stated
in the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī'.

The rules which indicate option by the term 'Bahulam' do not
show strict forms of a word. These rules give a general idea of a
tendency of the spoken language. The word 'Bahulam' may be trans-
lated as 'mostly it is seen'. The word though used as a technical
term is not very strict about the operations it states but allows them
optionally. Still the word is an important option - indicative because
in the spoken language there are no hard and fast rules as they are in
the science of grammar. One has to accept the loose expressions in
the language and they are to be explained by grammar as 'Sthitasya
gatiścintanīyā'. That is why the Vyā.MB.[8] says, 'only one way of
explanation will not suffice and one has to use the terms like
'Ubhayathā' or 'Anyatarasyām', etc. It can be said that the rules em-
ploying the term 'Bahulam' take note of different varieties of a par-
ticular word-form but they do not suggest optional application of
these forms to denote the same meaning.

The rule - wise study will explain the important points re-
garding the term 'Bahulam'. The rules are not discussed necessarily
in serial order but they are discussed according to the importance of
the implication of the term 'Bahulam'. The word 'Bahulam' is used

at the first place in the rule (i.e.at the beginning of the rule) for thirteen times; twelve of which denote the peculiarities of the vedic text and thus the rule is framed as 'Bahulam chandasi'. However, 'Bahulam ābhīkṣṇye'- P.A.3.2.81 is the only case where the word 'Bahulam' is used at the first position but is not related with 'Chandasi'. The rule is discussed here.

1) 'Bahulam ābhīkṣṇye' - P. A. 3.2.81

It is known that no other option - indicative - term except 'Vibhāṣā' is defined by 'Pāṇini', but some glimpses are there, in some rules, to find out the notions underlying the option - indicative - words though they are not defined. There are two rules i.e. 'Bahulamābhīkṣṇye' P.A.3.2.81and 'Samuccaye ç nyatarasyām' P. A. 3.4.3, which are not the definitions of these two words, but they reveal the idea underlying the use of these two terms. These two rules have their particular context. The rule 'Bahulamābhīkṣṇye' has the context of the suffix 'ṆinI'. The rule states that the suffix 'ṆinI' comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed. It is clear that 'Abhīkṣṇya' means continued repetition but it does not indicate habit. Taking this rule out of the context one can say that, 'Abhīkṣṇye gamyamāne Bahulam śabdaḥ yujyate'. In his observations when 'Pāṇini' finds a certain operation frequently taking place and in certain cases that operation is totally absent, to note the cases of frequency of that operation he uses the word 'Bahulam'. For example, 'Tṛtīyāsaptamyorbahulam' P. A. 2.4.84 ( 'Ambhāvaḥ avyayībhāve' ). The rule states that the change to 'am' of the third and seven[th] case affixes coming after an 'Avyayībhāva' - compound that ends in 'a' occurs diversely, thus the forms are 'Upakumbhena' or 'Upkumbham'. But this 'Ambhāva' will take place obligatorily in some cases as 'Unmattagaṅgam'. This type of uncertainty is seen in the elision of case - terminations in a compound also. In the compounds like 'Kurucaraḥ' and 'Madracaraḥ' the elision of the case - termination of the first word is seen but in the compounds like 'Stamberamaḥ' or 'Karṇejapaḥ' it is not seen at all.

'In short, the rule P.A.3.2.81 though it ordains the suffix 'ṆinI', is also helpful to know the implication of the term 'Bahulam'.

2) 'Kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam' - P. A. 2.1.32

This rule occurs in the discussion of the instrumental - 'Tatpuruṣa'. It states that a word ending with the third case affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends with a 'Kṛt' - affix and the compound so formed is called a 'Tatpuruṣa'. The 'Vyā.MB' [8] discusses the rule at length. The objector suggests that instead of the term 'Bahulam', word 'Ktena' should be used so that the compounding should not take place in the cases like 'Paraśunā chinnavān' and the 'Ativyāptidoṣa' will be avoided. Before accepting this view one has to think about the possibility of 'Avyāpti - doṣa' also. The word 'Ktena', if employed in the rule by cancelling the word 'Bahulam', will create problem in the compounds like 'Nakhanirbhedaḥ'. The word 'Nirbheda' (which is formed with the affix 'GHaÑ' ) will not be compounded with a word ending in the instrument because it is not 'Ktānta'- word and then 'Avyāptidoṣa' will take place, so 'Ktena' cannot be used. Thus, to explain those cases, which do not abide themselves by fixed rules the term 'Bahulam' is used because it has a unique quality of expressing any kind of uncertainty. 'Pradīpa' [9] also supports the point of 'Avyāpti - ativyāpti - pariharaṇa'. The cases like 'Dātreṇa lūnavān' or 'Parśunā chinnavān' do not undergo the compounding process though the 'Kṛdanta'' are used with an instrumental case (denoting the instrument). To explain this kind of irregularity the word 'Bahulam' is used and that cannot be replaced by any other word. ( The grammatical reason for this non - compounding is that there is no exact syntactical connection i. e. 'Sāmarthya' between the two words i.e. 'Paraśurnā' and 'Chinnavān' ). The term 'Bahulam' is used adverbially and thus uncertainty in compounding is noted in this rule.

3) 'Viśeṣaṇam viśeṣyeṇa bahulam' - P. A. 2.1.57

The rule governs the 'Karmadhārya' compound and states that

a case - inflected word, denoting the qualifier, is compounded diversely with a case - inflected word, denoting the thing thereby (i. e. the qualified) the later being in agreement with the former and the compound so formed is called 'Tatpururṣa'. An important point is to be noted here. If a qualifier and a qualified both can stand separately as having mutually separate existence, then only the compounding will take place. In the case of 'Takṣakaḥ sarpaḥ', the quality of being a 'Sarpa' ('Sarpatva' ) and the quality of being 'Takṣaka' ( 'Takṣaktava' ) cannot leave each other and there will be no compounding between these two words. In the case of 'Nīlam utpalam', the quality of being blue can reside in other things also (as blue paper, blue cloth etc.) and the 'Utpala' can also have another colour (like white etc.). That is to say, 'Nīlatva' and 'Utpalatva' are the two qualities which have come in relation with each other in this particular case, but there can be 'Vyabhicāribhāva' (i. e. the quality of having separate existence) between the two and thus here compounding can take place. When there is no 'Vyabhicāribhāva' compounding will not take place as one finds in the case of 'Rāmo Jāmadagnyaḥ'; a person 'Rāma' by name and a perosn from 'Jamadagni' - family are not two different entities. The quality of being 'Rāma' and the quality of being son of 'Jamadagni' cann't leave each other and thus the compound can not be formed out of these two words. 'Kāśikā' [10] explains the purpose of the term 'Bahulam' by saying that it is used to have a systematic explanation. BM. marks the difference between the term 'Bahulam' and two primary option - indicative - terms - 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā'. These two terms, being already prevalent even in the Pāṇinian system, why the new word 'Bahulam' is brought in ? is the question. The answer given by BM[11] is that the two option - indicative - terms i.e. 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' are strict in their application. They explain regular options either positive or negative but the cases like 'Kṛṣṇasarpaḥ' and 'Rāmo Jāmadagnyaḥ' will not be explained by them and to denote this peculiar type of irregularity the new option - indicative - term 'Bahulam'

is introduced. A note is to be given regarding the traditional example 'Takṣakaḥ sarpaḥ'. This example is given by the commentaries like 'Kāśikā'. According to the dictonaries the word 'Takṣaka' also means a carpenter and if the word 'Sarpaḥ' is used as a qualifier of the word 'Takṣakaḥ' a compound can be formed out of the two words and the compound will mean figuratively the carpenter who is a virtual cobra; but in the case of 'Bahulam' it is to be treated just as grammatical example.

4) 'Tṛtīyā saptamyorbahulam' - P. A. 2.4.84

The rule states that the change 'Am' of the third and seven[th] case affixes coming after an 'Avyayībhāva' - compound that ends in 'a', occurs diversely. The purpose of using the term 'Bahulam' is to denote obligatoriness of the 'Ambhāva' in the cases like 'Sumadram' and 'Unmattagaṅgam' etc.[12] A 'Vārttika' following the rule states that the 'am' - substitution is obligatory and not optional in the locative - case when an 'Avyayībhāva' - compound denotes prosperity or a compound of rivers or a compound having a numeral for its member. Actually the 'Vārttika' was not necessary, the word 'Bahulam' would have taken care of all kinds of uncertainties; regarding that particular rule.

5) 'Tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam' - P. A. 6.3.14

This rule occurs in the section of non - elision of case - affixes. The rule states that in a 'Tatpuruṣa' - compound, when a second member is a word, formed with 'Kṛt' - affixes the locative - ending is optionally preserved. The word 'Bahulam' is used to denote the obligatory elision of the locative ending, in the case of 'Kurucaraḥ, Madracaraḥ' etc. BM.[13] notes one more point. The use of the word 'Bahulam' wipes out the necessity of carryin 'Haladantāt' from the previous rule. The Vyā.MB.[14] also discusses the point. The objector says that for the proper application of the rule, the word 'Akarmadhāraye' should be supplied but the supporter says that this job is already done by the word 'Bahulam'; so in the cases like 'Parame kārake' the elision of the locative termination of the word 'Parame' will not take place.

An important point is to be noted here. The previous rule 'Bandhe ca vibhāṣā' P. A. 6.3.13 uses the word 'Vibhāṣā' but 'Anuvṛtti' of that word is cancelled by the term 'Bahulam'. The term 'Vibhāṣā' allows two alternative forms as 'Hastabandhaḥ' and 'Hastebandhaḥ' (i.e. one form with the elision and the other without the elision). But the option denoted by the word 'Bahulam' is different from that of 'Vibhāṣā'. The forms explained by the word 'Bahulam' are 'Stamberamaḥ' or 'Karṇejapaḥ' etc. Here, one does not have alternative forms 'Stambaramaḥ' and 'Stamberamaḥ', but only one form without elision is in use. On the contrary, in the case of 'Kurucaraḥ' and 'Madracaraḥ' the elision of the locative termination is obligatory; the forms like 'Kuraucaraḥ' or 'Madrecaraḥ' are not used. It shows that the elision of the case-termination takes place in certain cases and in certain other cases it does not. This is the disciplined irregularity that is indicated by the term 'Bahulam'. The difference between the implications of these two option-indicative-terms is also clearly seen from the following two rules.

1) 'Tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam' - P.A.6.3.14 - optional preservation of the locative.

2) 'Prāvṛtśaradkāladivām je' - P.A.6.3.15 - obligatory preservation of the locative.

3) 'Vibhāṣā varṣakṣaravarāt ' ( *je ca* ) - P.A.6.3.16 optional preservation of the locative.

If the implications of the two forms i.e. 'Bahulam' and 'Vibhāṣā' are the same then 'Pāṇini' would not have used these two words separately by the insertion of one more rule which states obligatory elision. The order of rules that 'Pāṇini' has kept intentionally, shows that he wanted to differentiate between the options denoted by the two forms. Moreover the term 'Vibhāṣā' is carried over to rule no.17 / 18 and thus even the order of the rules cann't be changed here. In short, the word 'Bahulam' is used, not to show the two alternative forms side by side but to explain the irregularities of one type ( i. e. as in the cases of elision of locative terminations).

6) 'Kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam' - P. A. 3.3.113

The rule teaches about the 'Kṛtya' - suffixes. It teaches that the affixes called 'Kṛtya' and the affix 'LYUṬ' are diversely applicable and have other sense than those taught in previous rules. The *Vyā.MB.*[15] does not comment on the word 'Bahulam' but it says that instead of saying 'Kṛtyalyuṭo' one should say 'Kṛto'. The rule then will explain the cases like 'Pādahārakaḥ' and 'Galecopakaḥ'. *Pradīpa*[16] also supports the point by saying that with the use of the word 'Kṛt' one can do away with 'Kṛtya' and 'Lyuṭ' also. In the formations like 'Pādahārakaḥ' and 'Galecopakaḥ' the affix 'ṆVUL' ( 'aka' ) is added which is neither a 'Kṛtya' nor a 'LYUṬ' but it is a 'Kṛt'- affix. If one reconstructs the rule as *kṛto* Bahulam' (as *'Bhāṣya'* suggests) the affixes like 'GHa, GHaÑ, YUC' ( 'ana') will also claim in certain cases (though they are not expected, being other than 'Kṛtyaˢ' and 'LYUṬˢ' ) Thus, the purpose of using the phrase as 'Kṛtyalyuṭo' (and not as 'Kṛtó' ) is to avoid the 'Kṛtˢ' other than 'Kṛtyaˢ' and 'LYUṬ ˢ'. There are only five rules which ordain the suffix 'LYUṬ' ( 'ana' ) and thirty nine rules state the Kṛtya-suffixes. All other rules state 'Kṛt'- affixes. To exclude the other 'Kṛt ˢ' (other than 'Kṛtya ˢ' and 'LYUṬ ˢ' ) the affixes are specifically mentioned as 'Kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam'. In short, the 'Vyāpakatvá' which will be ordain-ed by using the word 'Kṛto' will also cause ambiguity as it will allow those 'Kṛt' - suffixes also which are not expected. Moreover by using the term 'Bahulam' the 'Kṛtya' - affixes are applied even in the places other than those expressively ordained.

7) 'Rogākhyāyām ṇvul bahulam' - P. A. 3.3.108

The rule states that the affixes 'ṆVUL' ( 'aka' ) comes diversely after the verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun being the name of a disease. The purpose of the term 'Bahulam' is to denote obligatory negation of the affix 'ṆVUL' in certain cases of 'Rogākhyā' and obligatory application of the same suffix in certain cases. For example, in the words like 'Pracchardikā' or 'Pravāhikā' the affix 'ṆVUL' is added but in the cases like 'Śirottiḥ'

the affix is not added. According to 'Kāśikā'.[17] the use of the term 'Bahulam' is to denote the violation from a rule. The word 'Vyabhi-cāra' which is used by 'Kāśikā' in its explanation indicates 'Niyama-bhaṅga'. Pradīpa.[18] has very simple comment that the word 'Bahulam' can take care of all types of cases; of this category; sometimes 'NVUL' is not seen.

8) 'Uṇādayo bahulam' - P. A. 3.3.1

The rule states that the affix 'uN' and the rest with the force of the present and with a sense simply appellative are attached di-versely. S.C.Vasu.[19] gives an exhaustive note on the 'Uṇādi ''. He says that these 'Uṇādi' - affixes come after a limited number of roots and not after every root as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word 'Bahulam' has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come but only some of them have been collected in works treating of 'Uṇādi' - suffixes.

The Vyā.MB excludes this rule from its comments but TB.[20] says that the term 'Bahulam' works for the completion of 'Uṇādi '' which are incomplete. BM.[21] says - 'some rules like 'Kṛvāpāji' - etc. which are framed by 'Śākaṭāyana' are also included here and this can be done only on the strength of the word 'Bahulam'.' On Kāśikā's comment 'Kecidavihitā apyūhyāḥ', BM.[22] says that this is the real purpose of using the term 'Bahulam' instead of Vā. Kaiyaṭa's obser-vation on this rule is pertinent. He says [23] that the rule 'Dhātoḥ' (P.A.3.1.91) should come after the rule 'Uṇādayo bahulam' (P.A. 3.3.1). It is either a mistake on the part of the author or because the 'Arthakrama' is important than the 'Pāṭhakrama' this order is kept but the rule 'Dhātoḥ' should be read after the rule 'Uṇādayo bahulam'.

9) 'Upasargasya ghañamanuṣye bahulam' - P. A. 6.3.122

The rule states that the final vowel of the preposition is di-versely lengthened before a word, formed by the 'Kṛt' - affix 'GHaN' but not when the compound denotes a human - being. In this rule, the word 'Bahulam' shows two different shades of irregularity. In

the examples like 'Nīkledaḥ' or 'Vīmargaḥ' or 'Apāmārgaḥ' final vowel of the preposision is lengthened but in 'Prasāraḥ' or 'Secaḥ' it is not lengthened. Here the word 'Bahulam' has implication of 'diversely' (as P.Kiparsky suggests) but the alternative forms are explained by the same rule with the term 'Bahulam' as 'Prativeśaḥ' or 'Pratīveśaḥ, Paripākaḥ' or 'Parīpākaḥ'. In this context the word 'Bahulam' expresses alternation rather than diversity.

10) 'Sibbahulam *leṭi*' - P. A. 3.1.44

This rule applies only in the '*Veda*'. The rule states that the affix 'sIP' is diversely added to a verbal root when 'Leṭ' follows, so the form is 'Tāriṣat' [24] ; so also the form 'Vakṣati' [25](with 'sIP' ) is found. But the form 'Patāti' [26] does not show 'sIP'.

11) 'Gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyo bahulam vuñ' - P. A. 4.3.99

The affix 'VUÑ' comes diversely in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration' after a word denoting 'Gotra' or 'Kṣatriya'. Thus, the form one gets from the 'Gotra' - word 'Glucukāyanaḥ' is 'Glaucukāyanakaḥ'. The word 'Bahulam' in this rule shows the non-universality of operation. In some cases the affix 'VUÑ' ( 'ka' ) is added and in some cases it is not added thus 'Pāṇinau bhaktirasya' - 'Pāṇinīyaḥ' ('VUÑ' is not added).

12) 'Devamanuṣya puruṣapurumartyebhyo dvitīyāsaptamyor bahulam' - P. A. 5.4.56

The rule states that, after the word 'Deva', 'Manuṣya', 'Puruṣa', 'Puru' and 'Martya' ending in the second or seventh case - affix, the suffix 'trā' is diversely employed having the force of the accusative or locative case.

| | |
|---|---|
| 'Devān gacchati' | 'Devatrā gacchati' |
| 'Deveṣu vasati' | 'Devatrā vasati' |

By using the word diversely in the aphorism it is intended that the affix comes in this sense after other words[27] also.

13) 'Pātau ca bahulam' - P. A. 8.3.52

The rule states that 's' may diversely by substituted for the 'Visarga' of the oblative case before the word 'Pātu' in the vedic

literature. Thus, the forms like 'Divaspātu [28] Rājñaspātu' can be explained; but the term 'Bahulam' also explains the forms where the substitue 's' does not take place[29] - for example - 'Pariṣadaḥ pātu'.

Further, a point is to be discussed about the rules which employ the word 'Bahulam' along with the word 'Chandasi'. The word 'Bahulam', as is already noted, denotes uncertainty. The word 'Chandasi' does not indicate option but shows the peculiar tendencies of the vedic literature. Thus, the phrase 'Bahulam chandasi' marks the irregularities in the Vedic literature. The rules employing the phrase 'Bahulam chandasi' are twenty in number. The details of these vedic peculiarities will be discussed later ( see the discussion of the word 'Chandasi' ) but the point to be marked here is that it is difficult to apply the Pāṇinian rules of grammar to the Vedic literature.

As a conclusion it can be said that the term 'Bahulam' is used to avoid the 'Avyāpti' and 'Ativyāpti doṣas'. The word indicates uncertainty rather than option or alternation; and even if this quality is to be considered as option - indicative - quality it is very low degree of option that the term 'Bahulam' indicates. The use of the term 'Bahulam' is a clever device found out by Pāṇini as the term is all - inclusive. It can explain any case coming under the province of the rule. The term, as regards its function can be compared perhaps with the term 'Anyatarasyām' but not with the term 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā'. The two terms 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' are primary option - indicatives and 'Anyatarasyām' and 'Bahulam' are secondary option - indicatives. Still the term 'Bahulam' is used[30] to :-

1) To denote systematic option.
2) To remove all the conditions wherever necessary.
3) To complete that which is incomplete.

# References

1) *Vyā.MB.* ( Vol . II ) P . 848 - 849.

लुगलुगनुक्रमणं बहुलवचनस्याकृत्स्नत्वात् । - - - यद्यकृत्स्नं बहुलवचनं यदनेन कृतमकृतं तत् । - - - सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्यः आस्थातुम् । उदाहरणभूयस्त्वादिति ।

2) *Pradīpa* ( Ibid ) P . 849

वेदेषु वैचित्र्येण व्यवहारात्तदङ्गव्याकरणेऽपि तथैव बहुलादि शब्देन व्यवहारः । तेनैतन्न चोदनीयम् - वाग्रहणमेव क्रियतां व्यवस्थितविभाषा वा ऽ श्रीयतां किं बहुलग्रहणेनेति।

3) *Vāja.Ptk.* commentary of Annambhaṭṭa on 3 . 18 )

     १ ) चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो ऽ स्य पादाः ।        ( शृङ्ग – शृङ्गाणि )

     २ ) एता ते अघ्न्ये नामानि ।        ( एता – एतानि ; नामानि )

     ३ ) इष्क्तारमध्वरस्य ।        ( निष्कर्तारमध्वरस्य । )

     ४ ) इमन् त्सादयामि ।        ( इमन् – इमानि । )

4) *Ṛgveda*

a) X . 97 . 9

इष्कृतिर्नाम वो मातार्थो यूयं स्थ निष्कृतीः ।

सायण - हे ओषधयः वो माता जननी इष्कृतिर्नाम सर्वेषां रुग्णानां निष्कर्त्री इति प्रसिद्धा - - - ।

b) X . 48 . 8

अहं गुङ्ग् गुभ्यो अतिथिग्वमिर्ष्करमिषं न - - - ।

सायण - दिवोदासं ऋषिम् इष्करं निष्कर्तारम् - - - ।

5) Whitney, W. D., '*Atha.Ptk.*', Varanasi. 1962, P.127

बहुलं रात्रे: ।

6) *Vāja.Ptk.* ( commentry of Annambhaṭṭa on 3.18 ) P . 110.

क्वचित्प्रवृत्ति:, क्वचिद्प्रवृत्ति:, क्वचिद्विभाषा क्वचिदन्यदेव ।

विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य चतुर्विधं बाहुलकं वदन्ति ॥

7) Kiparsky, P.,'*Pāṇini, as a variationist*', Poona & Cambridge - 1979,P.206

8) See the Ref. No. 1 - of this chapter.

8. a) *Vyā.MB* Vol .I, on the rule 2.1.32, P. 375

कर्वकरणे कृता क्तेनेति वक्तव्यम् ।

9) *Pradīpa* - Ibid - P . 376

क्तेनेत्युच्यमाने घञादिभिर्नखनिर्भेदः इत्यादौ समासो न प्राप्नोति तस्माद् बहुल-
ग्रहणमेवाव्याप्ति अतिव्याप्तिपरिहारार्थमाश्रयणीयम्।

10) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 2.1.57, P. 94

बहुलवचनं व्यवस्थार्थम् । क्वचिन्नित्यसमासः कृष्णसर्पः, लोहितशालिः।
क्वचिन्नभवत्येव रामो जामदग्न्यः । क्वचिद् विकल्पः नीलमुत्पलं, नीलोत्पलम् ।

11) *BM.* ( on Si . kau ) Vol . II . on the rule P.A.2.1.32. P . 75

ननु वाग्रहणेन सिद्धे बहुलग्रहणं किमर्थम् इत्यतः आह -
बहुलग्रहणात् क्वचिन्न क्वचिन्नित्यम् ।

12) Ibid on the rule 2.4.84 P . 9

ननु वेति सिद्धे किं बहुलग्रहणेनेत्यतः आह बहुलग्रहणात् सुमद्रम् उन्मत्तगङ्गम् इत्यादौ
सप्तम्या नित्यमम्भावः ।

13) Ibid on the rule 6.3.14 P . 235

हलदन्तात् इत्यनुवृत्त्यैव सिद्धमिदम् । तथापि बहुलग्रहणादेव सिद्धे हलदन्तात् इति
नानुवर्तनीयमिति भावः।

14) *Vyā.MB* ( Vol . II ) P . 848

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलमित्यत्र अकर्मधारय इति वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् ।
बहुलवचनान्नभविष्यति ।

15) Ibid P . 224

कृतो बहुलं पादहारकाद्यर्थम् ।

16) Ibid . *Pradīpa.*

कृत्यग्रहणमपनीय कृद्ग्रहणं व्यापकत्वात् कर्तव्यं तस्मिन् च कृते ल्युड्ग्रहणं न
कर्तव्यं तस्यापि कृत्-त्वात् ।

17) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule P.A.3.3.108, P.215

बहुलग्रहणं व्यभिचारार्थम् ।

18) *Pradīpa.* - On *Vyā.MB.* on the rule P. A. 3.3.108 . P . 223

बहुलवचनाच्च क्वचिन्न भवति ।

19) Vasu, S.C., *'The Aṣṭāthyāyī of Pāṇini'*, Vol.I, MBP Patana, P. 483-484.

20) *TB.* ( on *Si . kau* ) Vol . IV, on the rule P.A.3.3.1, P . 307
अपरिपूर्णानामुणादीनां परिपूर्णार्थं बहुलग्रहणम् ।

21) *BM.* Ibid
कृवापाजि - - - - इत्यादि सूत्राणि तु शाकटायनप्रणीतानि अस्यैव बहुलग्रहणस्य प्रपञ्च इत्यर्थः ।

22) Ibid
उणादयो वा इत्यनुक्त्वा बहुलग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनमाह ।

23) Limaye, V. P., *'Critical Studies On The Mahābhāṣya'*
V. V. R. I. Hosiarpur, 1974, P.507, 103 -23 -25
उणादय इति । एतदनन्तरम् 'अथवा धातोरिति' वर्तते इति ग्रन्थेन भाव्यम्। लेखकप्रमादात्तु स्थानान्तरे न्यस्तः । पाठक्रमाद्धा अर्थक्रमस्य बलीयस्त्वात् अत्र प्रदेशे संबध्यते ।

24) *Rgveda* . IV . 39 . 6.
प्र ण आयूंषि तारिषत् ।

25) *Rgveda* . I . 1 . 2
स देवाँ एह वक्षति ।

26) *Rgveda* . VII . 25 . 1
पताति दिद्युन्नर्यस्य बाह्वोर्मा - - - ।

27) *Rgveda* . X . 164 . 2
बहुत्रा जीवंतो मनः ।

28) *Rgveda* . X . 158 . 1
सूर्यो नो दिवस्पातु ।
*Rgveda* . VI . 61 . 11
सरस्वती निदस्पातु ।

29) *Rgveda* . I . 98 . 2
स रिषः पातु नक्तम् ।

30) References are given above.

१ ) बहुलग्रहणं व्यवस्थार्थम् ।

P. A. 2.1.57.

२ ) बहुलग्रहणं सर्वोपाधिव्यभिचारार्थम् ।

P. A. 3.3.108.

३ ) बहुलग्रहणम् अपरिपूरणानां पूरणार्थम् ।

P. A. 3.3.1.

卐

# Chapter - 4

## 'Anyatarasyām'.

As noted earlier this term neither occurs in the 'Vedas' nor in the ancilliary Vedic literature and nor in the four Ptk. ᶦ. It is also not found in the grammatical treatise other than that of 'Pāṇini' as the option - indicative term. Thus, it can be safely said that 'Pāṇini' is the first grammarian to use this word as an option - indicative - term. It seems that the word is taken from the colloquial language, but whether it is used to indicate a particular type of option or it indicates option in general is yet to be traced. As compared with the simple words like 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā', the word 'Anyatarasyām' is rather difficult to pronounce, it requires more moras for pronoun-ciation and is also of rare use; still 'Pāṇini' uses the word with some special purpose. He wants to differentiate between the shades and degrees of option denoted by the words like 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' and the option denoted by the word 'Anyatarasyām'.

The special grammatical structure of the word 'Anyatarasyām' is worth - commenting. All the option - indicative - terms are used as indeclinables though some of them show a particular case - ter-mination. The option - indicative - term 'vā' is a 'nipātana'. The word 'Vibhāṣā' is used only with the feminine nominative singular suffix in all the rules employing the term 'Vibhāṣā'. Thus, it has also become an indeclinable. The term 'Bahulam' is used adverbially thus it is also an indeclinable and is used everywhere with neuter nominative (or accusative) singular suffix. All these terms can be called 'Vibhakti - pratirūpaka - avyayas' and term 'Anyatarasyām' also fits in the group of such indeclinables. It shows locative singular termination in the feminine and all the rules employing this term use the same form of the word. It is note - worthy that even the sage - names are also used with a particular case - termination i. e. the genetive, though the number changes according to the number of sages referred to in a rule. For example : -

1)   'Sambuddhau śākalyasya - - - '          P. A. 1.1.16
2)   'Laṅaḥ śākaṭāyanasya - - - '           P. A. 3.4.111
3)   'Oto gārgyasya'                     P. A. 8.3.20
4)   'Aṭ gārgyagālavayoḥ'              P. A. 7.3.99
5)   'Nodātta - - - agārgyakāśyapagālavānām'    P. A. 8.4.67

It also supports the point that the option - indicative - terms are used as indeclinables because they show a particular case - termination in all the rules where they are employed.

      *BM.*[1] notes a point about the grammatical structure of the term 'Anyatarasyām'. One doubts that the word is formed with the suffix *'tara'* enjoined to the pronoun 'Anya' and therefore denotes comparative degree. *BM.*[1] points out that this particular term is a 'Nipātana', and denotes option originally. The words which are formed with suffix 'DAtara' and 'DAtama' are already included in the 'Sarvādi' - list and thus it is not necessary to mention the word 'Anyatara' again. This word would have been included in the group of words which are formed with the suffix 'DAtara' but it is separately mentioned and definitely carries some purpose. The separate mention indicates that the word 'Anyatarasyām' is not a 'made - form' (i. e. an artificial form made by the grammatical process of word - formation) but it is a 'Nipātana'. A 'Nipātana' is that word - form, the grammatical explanation of which can not be given and the stem and suffix relationship cannot be shown. The two words i.e. 'Anyatara' and 'Anyatama' do not have any grammatical explanation and from the very beginning they are used to denote one thing between two or more things. These words cann't be analysed by regular grammatical rules. Finally, the term 'Anyatarasyām', which is used as an indeclinable indicates the alternative forms of a word and the term is picked up from the spoken language at 'Pāṇini's' time.

      Some observations are put forth to find out the implications of the term 'Anyatarasyām' as the above discussion informs about the external form of the word. The word shows feminine type of

formation and denotes option mainly in the context of case - termi-
nations. For example : -

1)   'Parikrayaṇe sampradānamanyatarasyām'          P. A. 1.4.44
2)   'Pṛthagvinānānābhistṛtīyānyatarasyām'           P. A. 2.3.32
3)   'Caturthī cāśiṣya - - - - sukhārthahitaiḥ'           P. A. 2.3.73

The word 'Vibhakti' is also a feminine word. Perhaps 'Pāṇini'
uses the word 'Anyatarasyām' keeping in mind the word 'Vibhaktau'
implying thereby 'Anyatarasyām vibhaktau api yujyate'. This term
also can be an adjective to the word 'Bhāṣāyām' suggesting thereby
some other language than that of 'Pāṇini' but use of the term is seen
prominently regarding the cases and later it is used for option - indi-
cation in general. It is also observed that the forms which are ex-
plained by the rules employing this particular term are of less im-
portance for the reason that these rules allow more than two forms
to denote the same sense. It is rather looseness of language in the
usages.. For example : - 'Pṛthak, Vinā and Nānā' are three
indeclinables with which either accusative or instrumental or abla-
tive case - terminations can be used. In such cases the speaker has
ample choice and it certainly harms the disciplined nature of the
language though these rules explain variety in spoken language. It
is a sign of the flexibility of the language and the term explains the
variant usages in the field of day-to-day language. The option
indicated by this term is different from the option indicated by the
term 'Bahulam' for the reason that the term 'Anyatarasyām' explains
the variety while the term 'Bahulam' explains irregulartiy.

One more reason can be presented to explain the lower qual-
ity of the forms explained by the rules using the term 'Anyatarasyām'.
Most of the rules employing this term are excluded from the com-
ments by 'Patañjali' in his *Vyā.MB*. 'Patañjali' is always enthusias-
tic to comment upon the important rules and never avoids his re-
sponsibility as an expert and alert commentator but curiously enough
many 'Anyatarasyām' - rules are left without comment by 'Patañjali'.
Thus, it can be said that these rules are of minor importance in

'Patañjali's' view. It is also observed that a preceding rule and the following rule is explained but the middle one which employs this specific term is not explained. For example: - P. A. 6.3.21 and P. A. 6.3.23 are commented upon but 22 is not commented and it employs the term 'Anyatarasyām' ('Putre ç nyatarasyām'). Again the rule P.A.4.4.54 and 56 are dropped for they use the term 'Anyatarasyām' and 55 is taken note of. Such type of examples throw light on 'Patañjali's' view regarding the term 'Anyatarasyām'; according to him the forms obtained by these rules are undesired though these rules help to explain them.

It is also observed that.

1) The general rule, once debarred by a special rule is debarred for ever (in that particular case) and the general rule will not enter in the province of the special rule.

2) If the special rule uses some option - indicative word then the general rule is permitted in the absence of the special rule; and the forms obtained by these two rules can be used as alternatives to each other.

3) If a general rule ordains a particular case with a certain word and if an optional rule permites some more cases for the same word, the general rule - special rule relationship comes to an end and both the rules get equal status. For example: - 'Kartṛ karaṇayo-stṛtīyā' P.A.2.1.18 ordains instrumental case for the agent and the instrument;however the rule 'Parikrayaṇe saṁpradānam anyatara-syām' P.A.1.4.44 allows dative also for the means of sale, thus the forms are - 'Śatena śatāya vā krīto anubrūhi'. Here the 'Utsargā-pavāda' - relation has come to an end. The status of the special rule, when a general rule and a special rule claim on the same object is shown in the following chart.

Chart → on next page.

| - *Problem* - | | | - *Solution* - |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |

1) general rule  X    special rule . . . .  special rule - is *stronger*
2) general rule  X    special rule . . . . .  general rule is *permitted*
                              (with option indicative term)
3) general rule  X    special rule . . . .  equal operation of both the
                              (with 'Anyatarasyām' )                    rules.

It must be noted that the general rule holds ground leaving only a little but definite scope for the rule (with the word 'Anyatarasyām' ). Hence the option denoted by this word has a narrow scope as compared to the option denoted by the words 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā'. These three groups (as noted above) point out some minute differences regarding the application of rules. In the first group the general rule is totally debarred and only one form can be obtained. In the scond group, general rule is permitted in the absence of the special rule and thus two forms can be obtained but the form which is obtained by the special rule is desired form and in the third group, general rule is still operated and the 'Anyatarasyām' rule is an addition but both the rules have same status and both the forms (sometimes, more than two forms) are of equal importance. For  example, The rules -

a) 'Dūrāntikārthaiḥ ṣaṣṭhī anyatarasyām'       P.A.2.3.34 (special).
b) 'Apādāne pañcamī'                                        P. A. 2.3.38 (general)

These two rules claim on the same object (i. e. 'Apādāna') for the application of genetive and ablative respectively (with the word 'Dūra' and 'Antika' ). Here no rule cancells the other rule but one can use both the terms as 'Grāmāt grāmasya dūram vā '. Further the rule P.A, 2.3.35 allows accusative case - terminations also and one can use either of the three cases ablative, genetive and accusative. There is no clash between the rules as regards the Pāṇinian system, but the use of the word depends upon user's wish. The forms, which are allowed by 'Anyatarasyām' - rules are less in number and rare in use but they indicate a new trend though of little importance.

The number of the rules employing the term 'Anyatarasyām' is very large; some important rules among them are to be studied

here. This study will focus on the different implications of the term and its functioning.

1) 'Yuṣmadasmadoranyatarasyām khañca' - P. A. 4.3.1

The rule states that the pronouns 'Yuṣmad' and 'Asmad' take the affix 'KHAÑ' ('īn' ) optionally and also the affix 'CHA' ('īya'). The affix 'CHA' is already stated by the previous rule P. A. 4.2.125, and it is not debarred though a new affix 'KHAÑ' is ordained. This is the special characteristic of the term 'Anyatarasyām' that it does not debar the previous operation and tries to explain as many forms as it can. The general rule 'Prāgdivyato ς ṇ' P. A. 4.1.83 ordains the affix 'aṆ' for 'Yuṣmad' and 'Asmad' and finally three forms are obtained as 1) 'Yauṣmākīnaḥ - KHAÑ'. 2) 'Yuṣmadīyaḥ - CHA'. 3) 'Yauṣmākaḥ - aṆ'.

2) 'Keśādvo ς nyatarasyām' - P. A. 5.2.109

This rule ordains the suffix 'Va', with the force of 'matUP', after the word 'Keśa'. With the application of this rule, total 4 affixes are attached to this word optionally.

1)     'Keśavaḥ - Keśādvo ς nyatarasyām' -            P. A. 5.2.109
2)     'Keśavān - Tadasyāstyasminniti matup' -        P. A. 5.2.94
3)     'Keśi' or 'Keśikaḥ - Ata iniṭhanau' -            P. A. 5.2.115

The word 'Anyatarasyām' denotes option no doubt but it allows more than two operations which indicates looseness of language than option. It is not a strict option as the terms 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' indicate but very rare forms are also exlained with the help of 'Anyatarasyām' - rules. It seems that 'Kātyāyana' has a comparatively big list of words using the suffix 'Va', because he says, 'Va prakaraṇe anyebhyo ς pi dṛśyante'.

While commenting on the rule 'Yuṣmadasmadoḥ - - - ' P. A. 4.3.1 Pradīpa[2] remarks that the term 'Anyatarasyām' indicates 'Pratiprasava'. 'Pratiprasava' means permission to that operation which is likely to be debarred. Vyā.MB does not comment on the rule but according to Pradīpa[3] 'aṆ' which is a general suffix, is optionally allowed though the suffix 'KHAÑ' and 'CHA' ('īya' ) are optionally

ordained. In this rule all the three suffixes have optional applications. It would mean that the suffixes ordained by the 'Anyatarasyām' - rule are weak and pose a self - denial when juxta posed against the main rule but they are to be taken note of because they show a sure trend new or dying out whatever it may be.

The question is whether this term states some new suffix along with the previous ones (i. e. some special suffix along with the general suffix) or it only suggests the optional absence of the ordained suffix. *Udyota* answers it by saying that it only denotes optional absence of a particular operation. It shows that this term is very weak by nature and instead of denoting two strict optional forms it tries to explain even the rare forms as optional ones. The terms 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' when are used in the option - indicative - rules have the strength to ordain some operation optionally either positive or negative; but the 'Anyatarasyām' on the contrary, states self - denial. It also suggests that the concepts like 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' can not be explained by this term as they are explained by the terms 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā'.(The rules 'Vibhāṣopayamane' and 'Vibhāṣā grahaḥ' are to be referred to - Page 52/53 of this book). The optional forms as 'Upāyata' or 'Upāyamsta' and 'Grahaḥ' or 'Grāhaḥ' (by the respective rules) are not of the same value and also they denote different meanings. In such cases, the option - indicative - term 'Vibhāṣā' cannot be replaced by the term 'Anyatarasyām' because these two forms have different capacities, and their functions along with their status are altogether different. The term 'Vā' also suggests a definite type of option as the rule 'Anupasargādvā' - P. A.1.3.43 and many other 'Vā' - rules show but that type of definiteness of the optional - forms is not expected from the term 'Anyatarasyām'.

    3) 'Ḍābubhābhyāmanyatarasyām'. -        P. A. 4.1.13

The rule states that the affix 'ḌaP' comes optionally, after both these i.e. the nominal stem ending in 'Man' and a 'Bahuvrīhi' - compound ending in 'An'. In this rule the term restircts the number of cases of 'ḌaP' - application. Previous two rules are to be taken

into consideration for clear understanding of this rule.

a) 'Manaḥ' - P. A. 4.1.11. The affix 'ṄĪP' is not employed after a nominal stem ending in 'Man'.

b) 'Ano bahuvrīheḥ' - P. A. 4.1.12. The affix 'ṄĪP' is not added to denote a feminine entity after a 'Bahuvrīhi' compound ending in 'An'. The feminine affix is attached by the rule 'Ṛnnebhyo ṅīp' ( P. A. 4.1.5.). The term 'Anyatarasyām' in the rule 4.1.13 states 'Ḍāp' optionally thus, in its absence, 'Ṅīp - pratiṣedha' (which is stated by the two rules i. e. 4.1.11 and 12) takes place; and thus two forms are obtained.

| STEM | FEMININE AFFIX |
|---|---|
| | 'ṄĪP - pratiṣedha .... Siman' |
| 1) A 'man' ending word 'Siman' | |
| | 'ḌaP ............. Sīmā' |
| | 'ṄĪP-pratiṣedha .. Sukhātman' |
| 2) 'an' ending 'Bahuvrīhi' 'Sukhātman' | |
| | 'ḌaP ......... Sukhātmā' |
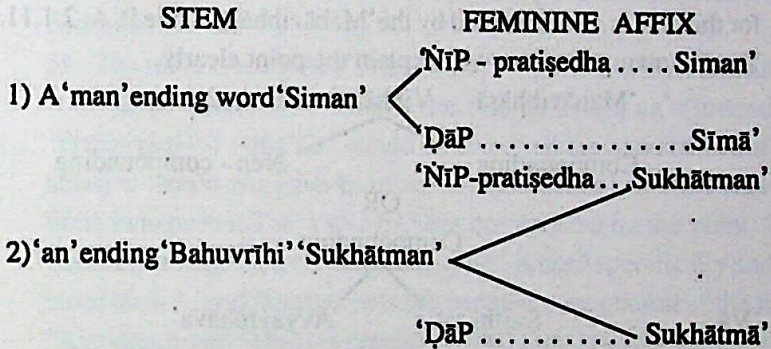
The term 'Anyatarasyām' employed in this rule optionalises the 'Apavāda' - rule. The 'Apavāda' - rule always overpowers the general rule and cancells the operation stated by the general rule. Here, the rule P. A. 4.1.13 optionalises the 'Ṅīp - pratiṣedha' and also states optional 'ḌaP'. Thus, the term serves two - fold purpose. It also can be said that only in the case of 'Mahāvibhāṣā', in the absence of 'Apavāda' - rule, the general rule can not take place but in other cases in the absence of an 'Apavāda' - rule a general rule can be applied. In such conditions the forms with 'Ṅīp' can also be allowed in the absence of 'Ṅīp - pratiṣedha'. Thus, the question is whether the term 'Anyatarasyām' optionalises the 'Ṅīp - pratiṣedha' and allows 'ṄĪP' and 'ḌaP' and also the form without these two. Certain examples in the language at that time can only answer the problem.

4) 'Dvitīyatṛtīyacaturhatūryāṇyanatarasyām' - P. A. 2.2.3

This rule ordains 'Ekadeśi - samāsa'. It states that the words 'Dvitīya' etc are optionally compounded with the word which signifies a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is disctinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called 'Tatpuruṣa'. Even by the rule 'Vibhāṣā' P.A.2.1.11, the 'Ekadeśi' - compound ordained by this rule would have been optional and therefore apparently the term 'Anyatarasyām' seems to be redundant. This case is similar to that of the 'Pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā' - P. A. 2.1.18 where the term 'Vā' in the rule seems to be redundant, for this rule is also governed by the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule P. A. 2.1.11. The following diagram will explain the point clearly.

'Mahāvibhāṣā　- Vibhāṣā' -　P. A. 2.1.11

Compounding　　　　　　　　　Non - compounding

OR

Compounding

'Vā. . . . . . . . . . .Ṣaṣṭhī tat.　　'Avyayībhāva'
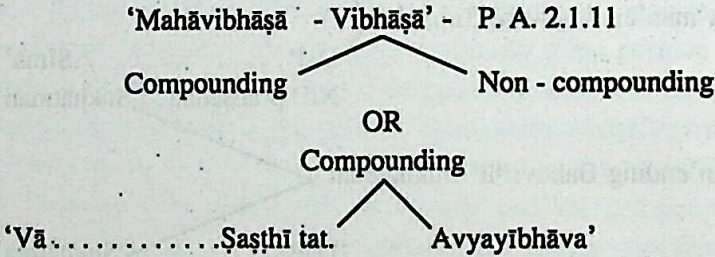
'Anyatarasyām . . .Ṣaṣṭhī tat.　　　'Ekadeśi'

　　Here the question is, if the term Vā in the rule 'Pāre madhye' can denote the use of the two alternative compounds, why the other term 'Anyatarasyām' is used to denote the use of the two alternative compounds. He could have used the term 'Vā' in the present rule under discussion. The use of the term 'Anyatarasyām' (instead of the term 'Vā' ) is to differentiate the degrees and shades of option indicated by these two forms. In the 'Vā' - rules both the alternatives are (more or less) equally used and stand on the equal level as regards the degree of option but the forms which are explained by the term 'Anyatarasyām' though are the alternatives to each other are not of equal importance. The forms allowed by this term have rare occurance and it is also possible that they were used in some other language (which 'Pāṇini' knows) but are not used in 'Pāṇini's' lan-

guage which is supposed to be a 'Śiṣṭasammata bhāṣā', the term 'Vā' directly states the optional compounds while the term 'Anyatarasyām' indirectly permits them. This shows that the cases of 'Anyatarasyām' are weaker than that of 'Vā' and indicates less popularity of forms.

5) 'Pṛthagvinānānābhistṛtīyānyatarasyām' - P. A. 2.3.32

The rule ordains instrumental optionally, with the indeclinables 'Pṛthak, Vinā and Nānā'. *BM*[5] comments that the term 'Anyatarasyām' is used to denote the collectiveness of cases.

1) The rule P. A. 2.3.28 ( 'Apādāne pañcami' ) ordains- 'ablative'.
2) From the rule P.A.2.3.31 ('Enapā dvitīyā' ) 'accusative' is carried over.
3) The rule P. A. 2.3.32 ('Pṛthagvinā - - -) ordains 'instrumental'.

If he would have framed the rule as 'Tṛtīyā ca' (instead of 'Pṛthagvinā - -' ) this 'Ca' would have carried the accusative but the ablative would not have been so carried because of the interventions in between. The *Vyā.MB.*[6] has commented on the point. The question is why the term 'Anyatarasyām' is used specifically and no other term ? ; and the answer is the peculiar connotation of the term 'Anyatarasyām'. The rule employing this term is a statement for the application of some new case (which is not ordained by any previous rule) but the original ablative is applicable everywhere with the new case. The context is that of 'Apādāna', naturally ablative is extended in the following rules and other cases ordained by *anyatarasyām*' are less conspicuous and present the narrower trends.

These forms may have come from the rural language or a subdialect in which usages are rather loose as compared to the urban language. In short, the rules employing the term 'Anyatarasyām' have three implications : -

*1)* 'Samuccayabodhanam'. 2) 'Vibhaktyantaraprāpaṇam'. 3) 'Pakṣe ç bhāvamātram'. Like many other option-indicative - rules, these rules are also the examples of 'Prāptavibhāṣā' and other types of option. The study of some important rules is presented here.

6)  'Hṛkroranyatarasyām' - P. A. 1.4.53

The rule states that the agent of the verb in its own non - 'Ṇi' - form (i. e. premitive form) in the case of  the root 'Hṛ' - to loose and root 'Kṛ' - to make, is optionally called 'Karma' or an object of the said - roots. By the rule 'Gatibuddhi - - -' P. A. 1.4.52. 'Karmasaṁjña'  was obligatory and thus the use of accusative termination was also compulsory but the 'Anyatarasyām' - rule states instrumental terminations positively optionally. The term is not commented either by *Vyā.MB* or by *BM* or by *TB*, but all the commentaries consider it as 'Ubhayatravibhāṣā'. As these two roots are not included in the list of 'Gatyarthaka's' it is 'Aprāptavibhāṣā'; but when the root 'Hṛ' has the sense of 'Abhyavahāra' and root 'Kṛ' has the sense of 'Vikāra' the rule 'Gatibuddhi - - ' will apply and it will be designated as 'Prāptavibhāṣā'.

7)  'Upakādhibhyo ç nyatarasyāmadvandve - - -' P. A. 2.4.69.

The rule states that after the words 'Upaka' etc. there is optionally 'Luk' - elision of the 'Gotra' - affix when the words take the plural whether they enter into a 'Dvandva' - compound or used separately. This rule is 'Ubhayatravibhāṣā'. The obligatory elision of the 'Gotrapratyaya' in the case of the word 'Upaka' etc. is already stated by the previous rule 'Tikakitavādibhyo dvandve' - - - P. A. 2.4.68. The rule under discussion i. e. P. A. 2.4.69, optionalises it in the case of 'Dvandva' - compounds and even in the case of un-compounded word - group. Thus, by the previous rule, in the 'Dvandva' - compound the only form will be 'Upakalamakāḥ' (in its plural) while by the rule P.A.2.4.69 the form is 'Aupakalāmakā-yanāḥ'. This rule is an 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' for the words like 'Supar-yakaḥ' or 'Supiṣṭaḥ' because it is a new optional statement.

In this rule the word 'Anyatarasyām' indicates that the retaining of the affix is a new trend and is restricted only to these few cases. This type of usage is perhaps due to the influence of a new element which is due to the migration towards non - 'Lug' - location or inmigration of a new element in 'Lug' - locality.

Some rules which employ the word 'Chandasi' along with the word 'Anyatarasyām' are to be discussed. The word 'Chandasi' is supposed to be an option - indicative but the observations do not support the point. This word only denotes the peculiarities of the vedic language. The use of the option-indicative-term 'Anyatarasyām' along with the word 'Chandasi' itself is a proof of the fact that 'Chandasi' is not an option - indicative term (otherwise the word 'Anyatarasyām' would have been redundant). The study of the rules, employing the term 'Anyatarasyām' along with the word 'Chandasi' is a key to know the concept underlying the word 'Anyatarasyām'.

8) 'Chandasi punarvasvorekavacanamanyatarasyām' - P. A. 1.2.61

9) 'Viśākhayośca' - P. A. 1.2.62

The rule P. A. 1.2.61 states that in the 'Vedas', the two stars, 'Punarvasū' may optionally be singular (and connote a dual) and the rule P.A.1.2.62 states that in the 'Vedas', the two stars 'Viśākhe' may optionally be in the singular number.

The rule 'Tiṣyapunarvasvoḥ - P. A. 1.2.63 states that the star 'Punarvasū' is to be presented in dual obligatorily but the previous two rules state the option for usage in the vedic literature. The reason for permitting the singular terminations in the 'Veda' is that these two are considered as 'Dvandvadevatā' (one deity which is the combination of two different personalities) and thus being a single deity singular is also allowed. The hypothesis, therefore, is supported again that, 'the affixes or the words which are explained by the term 'Anyatarasyām' denote a narrow trend, prevalant at the time of 'Pāṇini' (or earlier)'. S.C.Vasu.[7] has explained it as 'Punarvasunakṣatram' or 'Punarvasū nakṣatramaditirdevatā'. The option is allowed only in the 'Vedas' and not in secular literature. In the later it must be the dual as 'Punarvasū', similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism, but of a man there is no option as 'Punarvasū māṇavakau'. In the case of 'Viśākhā' it is 'Viśākhā' or

'Viśākhe nakṣatramindrāgnī devate'. It is found that, in the 'Veda '' singular is used to denote dual. These are the rare usages and are noted by the option - indicative - term 'Anyatarasyām'. The dual of the word Punarvasu (i.e. 'Punarvasū' ) occurs in the Rgveda only once [8] and the dual of the word 'Viśākhā' (i. e. 'Viśākhe' ) does not occur in the *Rgveda* but it occurs in the Vedic literature other than *Rgveda* ; the dual of both the words is found in Vedic literature.

10) 'Tulyārthairatulopamābhyām tṛtīyā ꜱ nyatarasyām' -P.A. 2.3.72. The rule occurs in the section of case - terminations. It states that, the third or the sixth case - affix may optionally be employed when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to' or resemblance, except the words 'Tulā' and 'Upamā'. The 'Anuvṛtti' of the word 'Vā' is carried over in this sutra from the previous one but the use of the term 'Anyatarasyām' is for subsequent rules. The word 'Ca' in the rule 'Caturthī cāśiṣyā - -' attracts the word 'Anyatarasyām' in the rule. In case the word 'Anyatarasyām' would not have been used, the word 'Ca' would have attracted the word 'Tṛtīyā' and that is undesired.

On this rule Prof. Apte[10] says - 'Pāṇini says that the words 'Tulā' and 'Upamā' cannot be used with the instrumental but this is against the good usages'. He also gives examples to support his statement. However, by the rule 'Śeṣe ṣaṣṭhī' sixth case affix was obligatory, it is optionalised and instrumental also is optionally stated.

The important point is that the use of the term 'Anyatarasyām' is a 'Jñāpaka' to know the difference between the option indicated by the term 'Vā' and the option indicated by the term 'Anyatarasyām'. In this rule the term 'Anyatarasyām' stops the 'Anuvṛtti' of the term 'Vā'. If the optional forms explained by the term 'Vā' are strict and desired (as Kiparsky states) it will not help to explain the flexible usages indicated by the term 'Anyatarasyām'. Moreover, the following rule 'Caturthī cāśiṣyā - -' P. A. 2.3.73 expects optional application of dative along with genetive and this option is different from the 'Vā'- type of option. Thus, to stop

the 'Anuvṛtti' of 'Vā' the term 'Anyatarasyām' is used. All the three implications of this term (noted on page no.87) fall into the category of loose usages in the language and such optional forms will not be explained by the terms like 'Vā' or 'Vibhāṣā' which are primary option - indicatives. The use of the term 'Anyatarasyām' to prohibit the function of 'Vā' is suggestive of the different categories of option indicated by these two terms.

11) 'Daivayajñi śaucivṛkṣisātyamugrikāṇṭheviddhibhyo ç nyatarasyām' - P. A. 4.1.81

The rule teaches that the affix 'ṢyaṄ' is optionally employed after the words 'Daivayajñi, Śaucivṛkṣi, Sātyamugri' and 'Kāṇṭhe-viddhi'. For these words, the affix 'iñ' is the final member and the word 'Gotra' is not understood in the rule. In the case of 'Gotra' -descendents the substitute 'ṢyaṄ' would have come by P. A. 4.1.78 that is 'Aniñoranārṣayorgurūpottamayoḥ ṣyañ gotre' but by that rule it would have been obligatory while the present aphorism makes it optional. If this rule is to be taken to apply to immediate descend-ents as opposed to 'Gotra' - descendents, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to P.A.4.1.78. In this alternative, when 'Ṣyan' is not employed, 'Ṅīṣ' will be added by the rule 'Ito manuṣya jāteḥ' P. A. 4.1.65. Thus, the forms are 'Daivayajñīyā or Daivayajñi'.

12) 'Ana upadhālopino ç nyatarasyām' - P. A. 4.1.28. The rule states that the affix 'ṄīP' optionally comes after that 'Bahuvīrhi' compound which ends in (the syllables) 'an' and looses its penul-timate 'a', thus the form is 'Bahurājñī' ('ṄīP'). In the alternative if 'ṄīP' is not added 'ḌāP' can be added by P.A.4.1.13 and the word can be conjugated as (the feminine crude form) 'Bahurājā, Bahurāje, Bahurājāḥ'. The rule 'Ano bahuvrīheḥ' P.A. 4.1.12 has prohibited the suffix 'ṄīP'. This prohibition can take place because P.A. 4.1.28 is an optional rule. When the affix 'ṄīP' is not employed the masculine forms like 'Bahurājā, Bahurājānau and Bahurājānaḥ' can be obtained.

In this rule, the term 'Anyatarasyām' is used with two - fold purpose. The term 1) states the optional application of 'ÑĪP'. 2) permits prohibition of 'ÑĪP' (i.e. masculine form) 3) allows optional application of 'ḌāP', and thus application and prohibition of different suffixes at one and the same time is the two - fold purpose. *BM.*[11] has commented on the point precisely.

13) 'Samuccaye ç nyatarasyām' - P. A. 3.4.3. The rule states that, 'the affix 'LOṬ' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one another'. Thus, the terminations of the second person singular and plural, 'Ātmanepada and 'Parasmaipada' are employed, but this being an optional rule the terminations of other persons and other tenses can also be employed.

The importance of the rule lies in the explanation of the term 'Anyatarasyām'. This rule is certainly not framed to define the term but the concept underlying the term is implied in this rule. Here is the observation regarding the term 'Anyatarasyām'. In this rule the word 'Anyatarasyām' is used as a 'Śabdasaṁjñā' standing for its own word - form. In all the definitions, the word that is defined, is always used as a 'Śabdasaṁjñā' and stands for its own word - form. See the rule - 'Naveti Vibhāṣā' - The word 'Vibhāṣā', which is defined is 'Śabdasaṁjñā' and the word-group 'Naveti' is the explanation; so also in 'Vṛddhirādaica'- P.A.1.1.1 the word Vṛddhiḥ is 'Śabdasaṁjñā'. In the same way, in the rule 'Samuccaye ç nyatarasyām' the word 'Anyatarasyām' is a 'Śabdasaṁjñā'. In that case, the word 'Samuccaya' would have been used in the nominative but it is used in the locative case to befit in the context of the rule which ordains 'LOṬ' -suffixes. 'Pāṇini' himself has not framed the rule as the definition of the word 'Anyatarasyām' but after the study of the rules using this term we are trying to find out the implication of the term and this rule is very helpful in that case. If the word 'Anyatarasyām' is understood as an 'Arthasaṁjñā' then by supplying the word 'Dyotye', the rule can be construed as 'Samuccaye dyotye anyatarasyām' ('Śabdo yujyate') and it will mean when there

is a group (of operations or of cases or of affixes) claiming on the same object, one of them can be optionally used (one can also explain the term 'Bahulam' with the rule 'Bahulamabhīkṣnye'. The point is alreay explained in the 'Bahulam' - Chapter (P. No. 65.)

There is difference between the operative mode of the term 'Anyatarasyām' and the terms 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā'. The term 'Anyatarasyām' accepts the previous operations (i. e. the operations stated by the previous rules) and ordains some new operations along with the earlier ones. The term 'Vā' explains only two forms, as alternatives to each other and the term 'Vibhāṣā' first negates the previous operation and then allows it optionally. These two terms show a state of sister - speech of equal status in popularity and use. The term 'Anyatarasyām' suggests the option of a lower degree than these two terms suggest and hence indicates a sub-dialect. The forms like 'Abhyutsādayāmakaḥ', 'Prajanayāmakaḥ', which are explained by the rule P.A.3.1.42 present a combination of two tenses- as the form 'Abhyutsādayāmakaḥ' shows the perfect ('Liṅ - am') and the aorist ('Luṅ - akaḥ'). Obviously these forms indicate a stage of corruption of the general trend and such cases are only a few. This is the crux of the concept underlying the term 'Anyatarasyām'. It indicates narrow usages. These are not the sophis-ticated usages but a tendency to use slang forms is clearly seen in them. Thus, it can be said that the alternative forms, which the term 'Anyatarasyām' explains, can be called as sub - dialectical usages.

In the conclusion, it can be stated that the term 'Anyatarasyām' has many implications [12] as the commentaries [13] suggest. The term is used : -

1) To ordain the use of different cases as alternatives to each other - P. A. 2.3.32
2) To apply different suffixes as alternatives to each other. - P. A. 5.2.109
3) To pose 'self - denial' P. A. 4.3.1
4) To stop the 'Anuvṛtti' of the term 'Vā' - P. A. 2.3.72
5) To denote 'Pratiprasava' - P. A. 4.3.1

# References

1) *BM* . (on *Si . Kau*) Vol . I . Page 211 - 215

ननु डतरग्रहणेनैव सिद्धे सर्वादिगणे अन्यतरशब्दपाठो व्यर्थः । अन्यतम-शब्दस्यापि डतम प्रत्ययान्तत्वात् सर्वनामत्वापत्तिश्चेत् इत्यत आह – अन्यतर अन्यतम शब्दौ अव्युत्पन्नौ स्वभावाद् द्विबहुविषये निर्धारणे वर्तेते । डित्थादिशब्दवत् प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागविहीनावित्यर्थः ।

2) *Pradīpa* - ( on *Vyā.Mb* Vol . II ), on P.A. 4.3.1, P . 243

अन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणेन चाणः प्रतिप्रसवः क्रियते ।

3) Ibid

अन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणेन तु खञ्छयोः पक्षे ऽनुत्पत्तिः प्रतिपाद्यते । तदनुत्पन्नौ चाप- वादाभावात् स्वशास्त्रेणाण् भवति ।

4) *Udyota* - Ibid

अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणस्य पक्षेऽभावमात्रमित्यर्थः न त्वन्यभावोऽपि नानार्थतापत्तेः। एवं च वाक्यस्य महाविभाषया सिद्धत्वादन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणबोधिततदभावे अणेवेति लक्ष्यसंस्कारवेलायां निर्णीयते ।

5) *BM* . ( on *Si . Kau* . Vol . I ), on P.A. 2.3.32, P. 670

अन्यतरस्याग्रहणमिति - तृतीया चेत्येतावतैव संनिहितद्वितीया समुच्चयसिद्धेरन्य- तरस्यामिति गुरुयत्नकरणं व्यवहिताया अपि पञ्चम्याः समुच्चयार्थम्, अव्यया- नामनेकार्थत्वादिति भावः ।

6) *Vyā.MB* Vol . I, on P.A. 2.3.32, P. 507

अन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्पञ्चमी भविष्यति ।

*Pradīpa*          ( Ibid )

अन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणं पक्षे विभक्त्यन्तरप्रापणार्थं सद् व्यवहितामपि पञ्चमीं प्रापयिष्यति इत्यर्थः ।

*Udyota*          ( Ibid )

अन्यतरस्याग्रहणमिति – अव्ययानमनेकत्वात् समुच्चयबोधनद्वारेति ।

7) Vasu, S. C. 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' - MBP.Patana.1962, ( Vol.I ), On P. A. 1.2.61 - 62 - 63 P.108

8) *Ṛgveda* - X . 19.1

अग्रीषोमौं पुनर्वसु अस्मे धारयतं रयिम् ।

9) *Śa . Brā* - 2 . 1 . 2 . 10

राधैं विशाखें सुह वानुराधा - - - - ।

*Tai . Saṁ* - 1 . 5 . 1 . 4

अथो शान्तिं रे वा वास्यैषा पुनर्वस्वोरादधीतैतद्धै - - - ।

*Av.* 19.7.2

पुनर्वसू सूनृता चारु पुष्यौ - - - ।

10) Vasu, S. C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*' Vol.I, MBP. Patana, 1962, P.306

अ) कुमारसंभवम् -

तुलां यदारोहति दन्तवाससा ।

ब) रघुवंशम् -

नभसा तुलां समारुरोह ।

क) मेघदूतम् -

स्फुटोपमं भूतिसितेन शम्भुना ।

11) *BM . ( on Śi . Kau )* Vol . I, on P.A. 4.1.28, P . 501

कदाचित् ङीब्निषेधः कदाचित् डाप्श्च । अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनमिदम् । अकृते ऽ त्वन्यतरस्यांग्रहणे बहुयज्वादिशब्दे अनुपधालोपिनि सावकाशस्य 'अनो बहुव्रीहेः' इति ङीप् - प्रतिषेधस्य 'डाबुभ्याम्' इति डाप्श्च बहुराजन्शब्दादावुपधा-लोपिनि अनवकाशेन ङीपा बाधः स्यात् ।

12) 1) अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणं विभक्तिसमुच्चयप्रापणार्थम् ।

P. A. 2.3.3.2.

2) अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणं प्रत्ययविकल्पबोधनार्थम् ।

P. A. 4.1.13.

3) अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणं पक्षे अभावमात्रबोधनार्थम् ।

P. A. 4.3.1.

4) अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणम् अनुवृत्तिनिवारणार्थम् ।

P. A. 2.3.72.

5) अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणं प्रतिप्रसवार्थम् ।

     P. A. 4.3.1.

13) See the reference no 3, 4, 5, 6. of this chapter.

卐

# Chapter - 5

# 'Sage Names' & 'Region Names'

As is noted earlier, the sage - names and region - names come under the category of secondary option - indicatives. Among the rules under this category, twenty nine rules use the sage-names and thirty eight rules refer to some region. The names of the sages and regions and the number of the rules to their credit are as follows : -

| S.No. | Names of the Sages | No of Rules |
|-------|-------------------|-------------|
| 1) | Śākalya | 7 |
| 2) | Śākaṭāyana | 4 |
| 3) | Gālava | 2 |
| 4) | Kāśyapa | 1 |
| 5) | Sphoṭāyana | 1 |
| 6) | Bhāradvāja | 1 |
| 7) | Gārgya | 1 |
| 8) | Āpiśali | 1 |
| 9) | Senaka | 1 |
| 10) | Cākravarman | 1 |
| 11) | Gārgya and Gālava | 1 |
| 12) | Gārgya - Kāśyapa - Gālava | 1 |
| 13) | Ekeṣām | 3 |
| 14) | Sarveṣām | 2 |
| 15) | Ācāryāṇām | 2 |

| S.No. | Names of the Regions | No of Rules |
|-------|---------------------|-------------|
| 1) | Prācām | 19 |
| 2) | Udīcām | 10 |
| | ( 9 Udīcām + 1 Anudīcām ) | |
| 3) | Sauvīreṣu | 3 |
| 4) | Prācyabharateṣu | 3 |
| 5) | Madrebhyḥ - Amadrāṇām | 2 |
| 6) | Uśīnareṣu | 1 |

In the second group of rules two classes are clearly seen. Some rules denote a direction in general while other rules note a particular region as 'Sauvīreṣu' or 'Prācyabharateṣu'. The rules which employ the name of a particular region do not indicate option at all but they just note some linguistic peculiarity or styles of that region. The rules which use the name of a particular sage or direction indicate option in most of the cases but only in few cases they are used to honour the sage ('Pūjārtham' as regards the rules using sage names) and the rules employing the words for direction inform about the speciality of that particular region in word - forming or pronounciation. The word 'Pūjā' in this context means 'to respect' or ' to take notice' honourably. The names of the grammarians along with their opinions are taken note of by 'Pāṇini' for some noteworthy observations put forth by them. Thus, 'Pūjārtham' means 'for paying regards to'.

The rules which employ a sage - name and indicate option thereby, are as follows : - P. A. 1.1.16, 17, 18, 3.4.111, 112, 6.1.127, 128, 130, 7.1.74, 7.2.63, 7.3.49, 7.3.99, 100, 8.2.30, 8.3.18, 19, 22, 104, 105, 106, 8.4.50, 51 and 52. These are twenty three in number.

The rules, sage - names in which do no indicate option but just pay respect to that sage are as follows: - P. A. 1.2.25, 5.4.112, 6.1.92, 123, 6.3.61 and 8.4.67. These are six in all.

The rules which employ a direction - name and suggest option thereby are as follows : - P. A. 3.1.90, 3.4.18, 19, 4.1.17, 43, 130, 153, 157, 158, 5.4.101, 6.3.32, 7.3.46, 47, and 8.2.86. These are fourteen in all.

The rules which use direction - name in general and do not indicate option but are used for 'Pūjārtham' are as follows : - P. A. 1.1.75, 2.4.60, 4.1.160, 4.2.109, 120, 123, 139, 5.3.80, 94, 6.2.74, 6.2.89, 99, 6.3.110, 7.3.14 and 24. These are fifteen in all.

The rules using the name of a particular region but not indicating option are as follows : - P. A. 2.4.60, 4.1.148, 149, 150, 4.2.108, 113, 118, 7.3.13 and 8.3.75. These are nine in number.

After this statistical data, some observations about the func-
tioning of these rules are to be put forth. The first question that is to
be answered is whether these two groups of rules (i. e. sage - name
- rules, region - name - rules) indicate option or not ? The tradition
explains them as option - indicative - rules. The tradition of Sanskrit
grammar has three phases. 'Trimuni Vyākaraṇam' (i.e. 'Pāṇini,
Kātyāyana and Patañjali' ) is the first phase. Then the second phase
is of those grammarians who have introduced new systems of gram-
mar other than that of 'Pāṇini' and the third phase is of the later
commentrators on 'Pāṇini'; like 'Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita', 'Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa'
upto 'Pāyagunde'. 'Pāṇini', in his 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' has not explained the
implication of these names and 'Kātyāyana' also has not explained
them though sometimes he modifies the rules. It is note worthy that
'Patañjali's' opinion also does not favour the option - indicative
quality of these rules. 'Patañjali' in his *MB.*[1] has discussed the topic.
According to him the peculiarities of the usages stated by the sage-
names or region-names are limited to that person or region only.
When it is said that 'Jamadagni' should perform the 'Pañcāvatta'-
ritual[2], the person who is other than 'Jāmadagnya' (i. e. any person
from 'Jamadagni' - family) is not supposed to perform this ritual. In
the same way when it is said that, 'Gālava' has the tendency to use.
short, it indicates that nobody else uses short vowel in that particu-
lar context. The phrase which 'Patañjali' has used to show this kind
of restriction is very important and that is 'Tasya tadviṣayatā
prāpnoti'. It suggests that, that particular type of usage is limited
to 'Gālava' only and nobody else uses it. '*Pradīpa*'[3] also supports
'Patañjali's' view. This comment of 'Patañjali' however suggests
that the sage-names or region-names are not option - indicatives.
An important point is to be noted here. Though theoretically these
words are not option - indicatives, the practical use of such words
make them option indicatives. To explain the point it can be said
when a certain group of people uses a particular word-form to denote
a particular meaning, that word-form can't remain restricted to that

group only. The word is carried with them wherever they may go. They continue to use it and slowly but steadily the word gets assimilited in the new region along with the previous common word. This is how that particular word - form (which was restricted for a particular group previously) gets an equal place in the language with the common word-form which is already prevalent. Then both the words are used to denote the same meaning and thus become alternatives to each other. The opinion of the first phase of Sanskrit Grammarians goes against the option - indicative - quality. The treatise of the Grammarians, which mark the second phase, are not available and thus can not studied in details thus it would be too bold to comment upon them, as regards the option - indicative quality of sage-names and region-names in their opinion. The only point, that can be noted about the option - indicative words of the second phase is that the word 'Vā' is used everywhere for option - indication (This is observed through the stray - references and fragments from these treatise). However the grammarians in the third phase have understood the point very clearly and the 'Vṛtti' of such rules uses the word 'Vā' to explain the sage-name. It clearly indicates that the modern commentaries also hold those grammatical operations stated by sage-names to be optional and many times they try to give modern linguistic explanation of the traditional views. The commentaries like 'Bālamanormā and Tattvabodhinī' explain the implications of sage-names very often. But on this background one has to bear in his mind that 'Patañjali's ' aim was to explain 'Pāṇini' primarily and only secondarily he has explained the forms in the current language, prevalent at his time.

One should think over the point how and why the concept of option is related with sage-names. It is found that two or more word - forms (to denote the same meaning) are prevalent the current language but one of them can be explained by 'Pāṇinian' rule and the other cann't be. Still such forms have many times warranting explanations in other schools of grammar. Such forms are accepted in the

language on the authority of such schools and therefore reference is to be made to the sages and their schools. Thus, the purpose of the mention of sage-names is two-fold. 1) To pay respect to these honourable sages. 2) To explain existent optional forms which cannot be explained by the 'Pāṇinian' rules. 'Patañjali' insists[4] on the first purpose only but the second purpose is more important for the study of option - indicative - rules.

It is already noted, that the direct statement of option and the indirect suggestion of option is the main difference between the different option - indicative - rules. The option which is denoted by the words like 'Vā, Vibhāṣā', etc. is a direct statement of option while the rules which include sage-names or region-names are indirect suggestions of option. The direct statements of option explain the alternative forms in 'Pāṇinian Language' itself while the indirect statements of option (i. e. the rules with the sage-names) explain the optional forms in the opinion of other sages. 'Pāṇini' has taken note of the grammatical traditions of his predecessors and has also observed the usages in different regions. Probably, the optional forms which he has come across in the study of different grammatical treatise, are explained through the names of the sages and the optional forms which he himself has observed in different regions are listed under the rules which employ some region-name. Thus, it can be safely said that the optional forms which are indicated by sage-names are either the opinions of those sages or the data - collected by those grammarians in their own study of language, presenting a particular mode of speech.

As these alternative forms are used frequently by the people they are to be considered as authoritative forms yet they are not compulsory forms because they are not accepted by all; and as a result these forms are noted as optional forms. Bearing this attitude, the modern commentators have explained these rules as option - indicative - rules. It is obvious that the optional forms denoted by sage-names do not have that much scope in the language as the

optional forms explained by the words 'Vā and Vibhāṣā' have, still these names are important because these are the only authoritative means to infer about the different modes of speech of the ancient Sanskrit language.

According to Prof. K. V. Abhyankar[5], 'Pāṇini' has noted only those cases by sage and region-names where he differs from them but the cases where the grammatical operations in his opinion and in the opinion of those sages are identical, are not pointed out. Let us be very precise and specific about this point. These cases are not the cases which point out the difference of opinion but they are different usages altogether. If one and the same form is explained in two different ways then it can be called the difference in the opinion, but when there are two or more forms used in the language to indicate the same meaning and it is the user's wish to select one of them, then it is not the difference of opinion but it is an option. The later commentaries explain these rules with the word 'Matena'. The word 'Matena' should not be rendered as 'in the opinion of' but it should be understood as 'in the dialects represented by those sages'. For instance - According to 'Āpiśali' in the verbal for 'Asti' (third person singular of the present tense), 'a' is an 'Āgama' and the root is 'S' while 'Pāṇini' thinks that in the verbal form 'Staḥ' (third person dual of the present tense) 'a' is elided and the root is 'As'. This case obviously indicates the difference of opinion and not option. But as 'Pāṇini' uses the sage-name or region-name adverbially it is the difference in the usages. The sage-names are mainly used in the explanations of 'Sandhi', 'doubling', 'optional application of the Iḍāgama' etc. These are probably the regional differences as Prof. K. V. Abhyankar notes.[5]

# 'Sage Names'

The rules employing the sage-names are to be studied and some observations are to be put forth. The great grammarian 'Śākalya' has seven rules to his credit. He has the credit to prepare the 'Padapāṭha' of the 'Ṛgveda - Saṁhitā' and in the 'Padapāṭha' the 'Ṛk.' are split into exact units (i.e. the 'Pada' ). The 'Saṁhitā' is called an 'Ārṣa' literature but the 'Padapāṭha' (as it is man-made) is called 'Anārṣa'.

1) 'Saṁbuddhau Śākalyasyetāvanārṣe ' - P. A. 1.1.16

The rule teaches about the "Pragrhyasaṁjñā". It states that in the opinion of 'Śākalya' in the non -'Ṛṣi' - mode ('Anārṣe' ), the final 'o' of the vocative singular before the word 'Iti' is 'Pragrhya'. 'Kāśikā'. renders the word 'Anārṣe' as 'Avaidike' and also notes that the name of the sage 'Śākalya' indicates optional application of the rule. P. Thieme notes 'Anārṣe' may mean accordingly 'not vedic' yet similar to Vedic i. e. belonging to the 'Padapāṭha' and further we may maintain that 'Pāṇini' by the expression 'Śākalyasya' wanted to restrict the 'Pragrhyatva' of such a vocative to the work of this authority i. e. the 'Padapāṭha' of the 'Ṛgveda', intimating that it was not justifiable ordinarily. Though P. Thieme takes the word 'Anārṣe' to mean the 'Padapāṭha' as against the 'Saṁhitāpāṭha', the rule 'Aplutavadupasthite' P. A. 6.1.129 uses the word 'Upasthita' for the 'Padapāṭha'. 'Kāśikā'. explains the point by saying that the function of 'Padapāṭha' is to discriminate the 'Pada' from the 'Saṁhitā' and they are to be put in their original position. *PM* notes that 'Ṛṣi' means veda. The words from the 'Veda' are 'Ārṣa' and the words other than the 'Ṛṣi'-mode are 'Anārṣa' implying thereby the 'Padapāṭha'. 'Nyāsa' has similar comment. S. C. Vasu, however renders this word as 'non-vedic' implying thereby the 'language of common use'. This meaning does not suit to the context. He further states that the word 'Anārṣe' refers to the 'Padapāṭha' in which the word 'Iti' occurs for the first time. Let us probe further. 'Pāṇini' has gathered his material from the 'Ptk .' In the present context the

'*Ṛk*-'*ptk*''. is referred to as there is reference to the name of 'Śākalya', who has 'Padapāṭha' on his name. The opinions of various sages which 'Pāṇini' has quoted can directly be traced in the '*Ptk*'', in many cases, and sometimes some important changes that 'Pāṇini' has made from the original can also be clearly traced. The rule 'Sambuddhau Śākalyasya -' is the similar case.

The topic of 'Pragṛhya'' is discussed in the *Ṛk.ptk*.[11] as follows - The 'Pragṛhya'' remain in their original position (i.e. the 'Sandhi' - operation is not to be done) in the 'Padapāṭha' when the word 'Iti' follows. *Ṛk-ptk*.[12] records many 'Pragṛhya'' but here the context is that of the 'O - kāra' at the end of the vocative. The 'O - kāra' which is caused by the vocative is to be called 'Pragṛhya' and 'Sandhi' - operation is not to be done in the 'Padapāṭha'. Not only that but if the 'Sandhi' - operation is already done in the 'Saṁhitā - pāṭha', it should be split. The two 'Kārikā'' (given in the references No. 11 and 12) explain the following points : -

a)   The 'Pragṛhya'' remain without sandhi - operation before 'Iti' in the 'Anārṣa' - stage.

b)   The 'Pragṛhya'' remain without sandhi - operation before the vowels in the 'Ārṣa' text.

c)   The word 'Yathoktam' means 'as is instructed earlier' That is to say, according to the rules of grammar those teach 'Sandhi' - operation.

d)   The first 'Pragṛhya' i. e. the vocative 'Akāra' is subjected to all 'Sandhi' - operations, which are instructed in the treatise earlier in the case of the 'Ārṣa' - literature and in the case of the 'Anārṣa' - version (i. e. the 'Padapāṭha' ) no 'Sandhi' is to be done when 'Iti' follows.

From all this discussion two important points are to be noted - 1) Śākalya has noted the position of the 'O - kāra' that is caused by the vocative, in the 'Padapāṭha'. 2) The *Ṛk-ptk*. has noted the position of the same in the 'Saṁhitāpāṭha'. These two points throw a light on Pāṇini's rules. Pāṇini referring to Śākalya says that in the

opinion of Śākalya, the'O - kāra' caused by the vocative remains in
its original position in the'Padapāṭha' when the word'Iti' follows.
What we are to infer from this rule about Pāṇini's opinion is that he
presents the opinions of the both (i.e.'Śākalya' and'Ṛk-ptk.') be-
cause there is no contradiction between the two as they both work in
different fields, so Pāṇini has no hesitation in accepting'Śākalya's'
view but he has specially referred the name because he wants to
give credit to'Śākalya' for the observation of this vocative and its
particular position.

     It may be noted that, in the'Padapāṭha' of the'Atharvaveda',
the same tendency is seen.[13] According to it, not only'Okāra' caused
by the vocative remains in its original position in'Padapāṭha' but if
'Sandhi' is operated in the'Saṁhitāpāṭha' it should be disjuncted in
the'Padapāṭha' before the word'Iti'. The Ṛgveda shows this
tendency. Ṛgveda.V.51.5[14] uses the word'Vāyavāyāhi', but in the
'Padapāṭha' it is split as'Vāyo - iti - āyāhi'. The Atharvaveda shows
the similar tendency[15] Av. VI.68.1.'Vāya Udanehi' is the Saṁhitā -
text while the'Padapāṭha' gives it as'Vāyo - iti - udanena'. Thus, it
is clear that the special reference to Śākalya's name serves the pur-
pose of showing the peculiar tendency of the'Padapāṭha' as against
the'Saṁhitāpāṭha'. The question, whether Śākalya's name indicates
option or not will be discussed after the study of all the seven rules
on his name. The study of different Ptk ⁵ along with the Ṛk.ptk. will
be helpful to understand the point.

     The study of'Sandhi' - operation is incomplete without not-
ing the'Prakṛtibhāva' - position.'Prakṛtibhāva' means remaining in
the original position without any change,( i. e. augment, variation
etc.). To indicate such position the word 'Pragṛhya' is used by Pāṇini.
When a word is designated as'Pragṛhya', it does not undergo any
operation though an operation is claimed by some other rule. For
example, 'Adhvaryo adribhiḥ - - -'[16]. In this case as the vowel'o' is
followed by the vowel 'a' the rule'Ecoyavāyāvaḥ' will claim and
thus'Sandhi' - operation is obligatory, but by the rule, 'Okāraśca

padānte ṣ navagrahaḥ' - *Vāja.ptk* 1.94 that 'o' is to be designated as 'Pragṛhya' and thus is free from any 'Sandhi' - operation.

This topic is discussed at length in all the four *Ptk* ᷆ [17]. As Whitney notes[18], in the *Tai.ptk*, this topic occupies much more space because *Tai.ptk.*, avoids on principle the mention of grammatical categories in its rules and is at infinite point to catalogue word by word, what the other treaties dispose of summarily, by classes. A rule in the 10th chapter (24) teaches that all the vowels here re-hearsed and defined as 'pragraha' are exempted from euphonic com-bination. The term 'Pragraha' is peculiar to this treaties the rest using 'Pragṛhya' instead.

The study of all the references (see Ref. 17) reveals -

a) No other treatise except the *Ṛk.ptk* gives the name of Śākalya though all of them comment on the word 'Iti', and the preceding vocative 'Okāra'. Pāṇini has said only about the vocative 'Okāra' followed by 'Iti' and this is also done by referring to Śākalya.

b) All other *Ptk* ᷆ except the *Tai.ptk* use the word 'Pragṛhya' while the *Tai.ptk* uses the word 'Pragraha'.

c) The vocative 'Okāra' is designated as 'Pragṛhya' by all the *Ptk* ᷆ and when it is followed by 'Iti' it remains without any Sandhi - operation.

d) The rules in all the 'Ptk' ᷆, and also in Pāṇini in which the word 'Iti' is either used or carried over are applicable only to the 'Padapāṭha' and obviously these rules refer to the sage Śākalya be-cause he has given the 'Padapāṭha' of the *Ṛgveda*. There are three rules in Pāṇini which use the word 'Itau' and these rules also use the word 'Anārṣe'. The word 'Anārṣe' is very important and as is noted earlier it should be rendered as 'in the non - 'Ṛṣi' - stage' (i. e. in the 'Padapāṭha') and it does not refer to the general Sanskrit (Laukika). *Annaṁbhaṭṭa*, the commentator of the *Vāja.ptk.* remarks[19] that it is concerned with Vedic literature only (i. e. the 'Saṁhitāpāṭha' and 'Padapāṭha' and not with the common language) it should be ex-plained as it is.

e) In all the *Ptk*ˢ, 'Ukāra' is 'Pragṛhya' and it is length-ened and nasalised before 'Iti'.

The two more rules which use the word Anārṣe and also Śākalya's name are applicable to the 'Padapāṭha' only and they are as follows :-

2) Uñaḥ       - P. A. 1.1.17
3) Ū          - P. A. 1.1.18

The rule 1.1.17 states that the particle 'Uñ' before the word 'Iti' according to Śākalya is 'Pragṛhya' and 'Uñ' is substituted by long and nesal 'Ū' and that is also designated as 'Pragṛhya'. The comment by *Kāśikā*.[20] on these two rules notes that in both the cases the name Śākalya is to denote option and thus two forms are obtained by the rule P.A.1.1.17 and they are 'U iti' and 'Viti' while by the rule P. A. 1.1.18. three forms are obtained as 'U iti, Viti' and 'Ū iti'. These two rules are found in the *Ṛk.ptk.*, also along with the name of the sage Śākalya. What the *Ṛk.ptk.* states is that 'U' joined to 'Iti' and standing alone (i.e. not joined to a consonant) is nasalised and lengthened and is also a 'Pragṛhya' according to the teaching of Śākalya.[21] The following points are to be noted from this quotation of the *Ṛk.ptk.*'.

(a) This rule applies in the case of the 'Saṃhitāpāṭha' and the 'Padapāṭha' only.

(b) The word 'Yukta' implies something more than it ac-tually shows. It indicates that 'Ukāra' not only followed by 'Iti' but even preceded by 'Iti' is to be designated as 'Pragṛhya'.

(c) The aim of 'Padapāṭha' is to split the exact 'Pada'ˢ (i. e. word-units) though they are joined in the 'Saṃhitāpāṭha'. The main idea is to show the 'Pada'ˢ as they are and thus the idea of the 'Prakṛtibhāva' comes in.

(d) The *Ṛk.ptk*ˢ maintains that the original value of the 'Ukāra' is of a short 'U' and that Śākalya has lenghtened and nasalised it, while Śākalya himself supposes that originally u is long and nasalised and in the Ārṣasaṃhitā it is shortened. That is

why Śākalya explains the short 'U' in the 'Saṁhitā', as 'Ū iti' in his 'Padapāṭha'. It seems that Pāṇini follows the *Rk.ptk*' because he has framed the rule as 'Uñaḥ ū' (P. A. 1.1.4 .18). Śaunaka, the author of the *Rk.ptk*.' has the 'Saṁhitāpāṭha' as his norm while Śākalya frames the rule by his own logic and study. He wants to give pure and scientific words in his 'Padapāṭha' and thus we find 'Ū iti' in the 'Padapāṭha', indicating thereby 'Ū' is the original word. *Rgveda* I.24.8.[22] uses this word 'Anvetavā u' in which the original word is 'Ūm' but at the end of the 'Pāda' that 'Ūm' is shortened and also noṅ - nasalised. So also *Rgveda* II,6.1.[23] gives the word 'U' which originally is 'Ū'. Naturally the shortening is for metre. When it occurs at the end it could have been long but having accepted the 'Saṁhitā' - norm (as short) it is called archial utterance and in the non - archial utterence it is long. In the *Atharvaveda* also the similar tendency is seen. *Av.*1.6.4.[24] notes the word 'Śamu' which consists the word 'U' and it is rendered as 'Ū iti' in its 'Padapāṭha'. This example also proves that the original u is long and nasal while in the 'Saṁhitā' it is shortened.[25] Two more rules using Śākalya's name are to be discussed here.

(4) 'Iko ç savarṇe Śākalyasya Hrasvaśca' - P. A. 6.1.127

(5) 'Ṛtyakaḥ' - P. A. 6.1.128

The rule P.A.6.1.127 states that in the opinion of Śākalya the vowel 'i, u, ṛ ,lṛ' retain their original forms if they are followed by non-homogenious vowel and if they are long, they are shortened optionally (as the rule is governed by the sage-name). *Kāśikā* says[26] that the name of Śākalya is used to pay respect only and the optional application of the rule is indicated by the vary utterance of this rule. Apparently the name of Śākalya is to honour him but in this rule option - indication is also done by his name and it is not done by the 'Ārambhasāmarthya' as *Kāśikā* opines.

Probably, these two rules are framed only in connection with the 'Saṁhitāpāṭha' and the 'Padapāṭha' (i. e. the Vedic Sanskrit). The statement is supported by three rules of Pāṇini.

a) 'Iko yaṇaci'                                                    - P. A. 6.1.77
b) 'Eco ç yavāyāvaḥ'                                               - P. A. 6.1.78
c) 'Ād guṇaḥ'                                                      - P. A. 6.1.87

These three rules in Pāṇini govern the Sandhi - operations. If Śakalya's rule has application in classical language then in the cases like 'Kumārī + Atra' or 'Guru + Iha' the 'Sandhi' - operation will not take place, consequently these three rules will be redundant but according to the traditional faith they are not redundant. It is therefore inferred that the field of application of these rules must be different. In this connection *Vyā.MB*, *Pradīpa* and *Udyota* have no comment on Śakalya's name. *BM.* and *TB* also do not comment on his name. Most of the rules of Śakalya (i. e. the rules which bear his name ) have bearing on the vedic usage, particularly the *Ṛgveda*; and the rules are mostly applicable to the *Śākalyasaṁhitā*. Thus the examples like 'Cakrī + Atra' are doubtful as they are from the classical language.

From this explanation it can be inferred that 'Yaṇsandhi' was a general practice and shortening was the vedic practice; restricted to the Śākalya - school. Gradually, the classical language accepted both the practices and they became alternatives to each other (but the Śākalya - forms are rare.)

An important Vārttika on the rule P. A. 6.1.127 is to be studied and that is 'Sinnityasamāsayoḥ śākalapratiṣedho vaktvyaḥ'. The word 'Śākalapratiṣedha' comes to mean the prohibition of the operations which are taught by Śakalya i. e. retaining of the original form and shortening. The forms obtained by the 'Sit' - affixes and the obligatory compounds do not undergo the operations taught by Śakalya. *Vyā.MB* however refutes the word 'Nitya' in the phrase 'Nityasamāsa'.[27] *Pradīpa, Udyota and BM*, also follow the lines of the *Vyā.MB*.

The word 'Ṛtviya'.[28] is formed with the affix 'GHAS' ('iya') by the rule 'Chandasi ghas' P. A. 5.1.106.

'ṛtu + GHAS' ('iya' )                                    - P. A. 5.1.106

'ṛtu + iya'

'ṛtv + iya' = 'iko yaṇaci'                               - P. A. 6.1.77

'tṛtviya'

Before the 'Sit' - suffix the stem gets designated as 'Pada' by 'Siti ca' P.A.1.4.16., so being a 'non-bha' the rule 'Orguṇaḥ' P.A. 6.4.146 (which causes 'Guṇa' ) will not be applicable and the form will remain as 'Ṛtviya'. Śākalya however has stated the 'Prakṛtibhāva' -position when the 'Ik'- vowels are followed by the non-homogenious vowels. According to this opinion, 'Sandhi' - operation will not take place in the case of 'Ṛtu + iya' but in the form 'Ṛtviya' it has taken place. The point therefore is whether Śākalya holds good for 'Padasandhi' (between the two Pada ' ) or for 'Antassandhi' ? (internal sandhi). Kātyāyana however understands Śākalya through Pāṇini to apply the rule to the classical language also while it seems that Śākalya has 'Saṁhitā' in his mind. thus, the examples like 'Cakrī Atra' are not attested.

In the case of 'Nityasamāsa' (the example given is 'Sauvaśvaḥ')   Śākalya implies that though in the written text 'Sandhi' - operation is done in the pronunciation the word should be split. This can be done only in the case of the *Ṛgveda* and thus it is stated that Śākalya's rule is only applicable for the 'Saṁhitāpāṭha' and the 'Pathapāṭha'.

It also clears the point that as Kātyāyana has prohibited 'Prakṛtibhāva' for these two,( i.e. 'Saṁhitāpāṭha' and the 'Padapāṭha') he wants to apply it to the classical language also.

The important point lies here.

(a)     Pāṇini - 'Iko ç savarṇe Śākalyasya hrasvaśca'. P. A. 6.1.127

(b)     Kātyāyana- 'Sinnityasamāsayoḥ śākalapratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ'.
         - the Vārttika on the rule P. A. 6.1.127.

(c)     Patañjali - 'Nityagrahaṇena nārthaḥ sitsamāsayoḥ śākalam
         Na Bhavatyeva'.[29]

         It is thus observed that 'Pāṇini' has only noted the opinion

of 'Śākalya' (without explaining its validity either for the 'Saṁhitā-paṭha' or for the 'Padapāṭha' or for the classical language). Most probably he does not want to apply the rule 'Iko ç savarṇe' to the classical language.(As 'Pāṇini' has not given the examples for his rules, it is very difficult to infer about his implication). 'Kātyāyana' however thinks that the rule can be applied to the classical language with some modification. Thus, he has formed 'Vārttika' in which he has stated the prohibition of operations stated by 'Śākalya'. 'Patañjali' goes a step ahead and states that the prohibition is not only for the obligatory compounds but for all the compounds in general, and thus the simple 'Yaṇsandhi' operation should be done in all compounds. In this way, such rules help to mark the development of the Sanskrit language through the 'Sūtra ʾ', the 'Vārttika ˣ ' and the 'Iṣṭi ˣ'.

The rule 'Ṛtyakaḥ' P. A. 6.1.128 which follows the rule 'Iko ç savarṇe' P.A.6.1.127 states that in the opinion of 'Śākalya', 'the simple vowel followed by 'ṛ' retains its original form and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened'. 'Kāśikā' [30] comments as follows:- The rule is framed with the intention that the homogenious and 'non - ik' vowels should not undergo the 'Sandhi - operation' and are to be shortened if they are long.

Further, two rules with 'Śākalya ˣ' name are to be studied along with two more rules one of which bears the name of 'Śākaṭāyana' and the other bears the name of 'Gārgya'.

6) 'Lopaḥ Śākalyasya' - P. A. 8.3.19

The rule states, " In the opinion of 'Śākalya', 'V' and 'Y', pre-ceded by 'a' or 'ā' and placed at the end of pada are elided before an 'Aś' letter. Thus, two forms are obtained as 'Kāka Aste' and 'Kākayāste'. The form 'Kākayāste' again has two methods of pro-nunciation i. e. with lighter articulation and with heavy articulation.

'Kākaḥ Āste'

| 'Kākas Āste' | ('Visarjanīyasya saḥ' ) | - P. A. 8.3.34 |
| 'Kāka (ru) Āste' | ('Sasajuṣo ruḥ'.) | - P. A. 8.2.66 |

'Kākay Āste'            ('Bhobhagoagho' )                    - P. A. 8.3.17

'Kāka Āste'             ('Lopaḥ Śākalyasya' )                - P. A. 8.3.19
                                          or
'Kākayāste'             ('Vyorlaghuprayatnataraḥ' )          - P. A. 8.3.18

    with lighter articulation       or       with heavy articulation

The rule 'Vyorlaghuprayatnataraḥ Śākaṭāyanasya' P. A. 8.3.18 states that 'V' and 'Y' (in 'Bhagoy' etc.. and after 'a' or 'ā' which are positioned at the end of the 'Pada' ) are pronounced with lighter articulation before an 'aś'-letter according to the opinion of 'Śākaṭāyana'. The difference between the kinds of pronunciation is to be noted. It is accepted that 'Śākalya' is anterior to 'Śākaṭāyana'. 'Śākalya' states the elision of 'y' and 'v' (in a certain condition) completely while 'Śākaṭāyana' opines for their lighter articulation. On the contrary at 'Gārgya's' time 'Yakāra' preceded by 'O' and followed by 'aś' letter is elided obligatorily (cf. 'Oto gārgyasya' - P. A. 8.3.20).

7) 'Sarvatra Śākalyasya' - P.A.8.4.51. In the opinion of 'Śākalya' there is no reduplication at all (though the word has two or more conjuct consonants following.) The 'Kāśikā' [31] has explained 'Śākalya's' name with the word 'Matena'. This rule applies to both the texts i.e. 'Saṃhitā' - text and the 'Pada' - text. 'Ṛgveda' [32] I.9.48 is the example for this rule. Finally, according to 'Śākalya' there is no reduplication at all.

Here we shall summarise all the seven rules. Among these seven rules which are credited to 'Śākalya's' name three rules are definitely framed for the 'Padapāṭha' because they carry the word 'Anārṣe' indicating his tradition of the 'Ṛgvedic Padapāṭha'. Thus, in the case of these three rules (i.e. P.A.1.1.16 -18) there arises no question whether 'Śākalya's' name indicates option or not because it is only his tradition of the 'Ṛgvedic Padapāṭha'. The 'Av.-Padapāṭha' also follows the same system and thus there is no question of option - indication. Thus, it can safely be said that in these three rules his name suggests a special feature of the 'Padapāṭha'.

The three rules P.A.6.1.127, P.A.6.1.128 and P.A.8.3.19 are meant for the 'Saṁhitā' - text and not for the 'Pada' - text for the 'Sandhi' - operation is never expected in the 'Pada' - text. Moreover these three rules do not carry the word 'Anārṣe' which is a peculiar sign for the 'Padapāṭha' and thus they are not for the 'Padapāṭha' but are to be applied to the 'Ārṣasaṁhitā' only. Still further it is to be noted that these three rules as they disturb the grammatical system of 'Pāṇini' (by causing the other three rules i. e. P.A.6.1.77, 78 and 87 to be redundant) they are to be limited to the 'Saṁhitā' - text and the examples noted earlier support the point. Thus, in the case of 'Agne Āyāhi', the forms will be as follows :-

'Śākalya        -        Agna Āyāhi'
'non - Śākalya  -        Agna - Yāyāhi' - lighter articulation.
'Śākaṭāyana     -        Agnayāyāhi'

The rule 'Sarvatra Śākalyasya' is to be applied to both the texts i. e. the 'Saṁhitā' - text and the 'Pada' - text. Thus, the three rules which do not use either the word 'Anārṣe' or the word 'Sarvatra' are to be applied to the 'Saṁhitā' - text. It is very clear that 'Śākalya's' rules are meant for regulating the vedic pronunciation. It also indicates the other trend of pronunciation where 'y and v' are not completely elided but they are either joined to the following vowel or heard silently. Thus, the option is restricted only to the vedic recitation. The other schools do not appear to have accepted 'Śākalya's' view and their extinction is indicative of the influence of 'Śākalya' - school. Unless one gets any other alternative 'saṁhitā' (i.e. 'Saṁhitā' other than that of 'Śākalya' ) this rule cannot be called as an option - indicative rule in the field of Vedic recitation.

Before closing the topic of the rules which mention 'Śākalya's' name, a point is to be noted. The word 'Śakala' is listed under the 'Gargādigaṇa' and the word 'Śākalya' is formed by the rule 'Gargādibhyo yañ' P.A.4.1.105 in the sense of a descendent; so when one wants to mention the name of the author of the 'Padapāṭha' or a grammarian the word should be used as 'Śākalya' but if a branch

of 'Ṛgveda' or a book or the opinion of 'Śākalya' is to be noted, the word 'Śākala' is to be used. 'Kātyāyana' does so in his 'Vārttika' when he says, 'Sinnitya---śakalapratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ'. Dr. Abhyankar adds[33] that the name of the author as 'Śākala' if found at all is by mistake.

Finally, 'Śākalya's' name does not indicate option in any of the seven rules because those rules are restricted to the 'Saṁhitā-pāṭha' and the 'Padapāṭha' only. In these cases the sage-name indicates uniqueness though such names indicate option in other cases. If 'Śākalya's' rules are to be applied to the classical literature, his name can be considered as an option - indicative - one.

'Śākaṭāyana' is another important sage who is referred to by 'Pāṇini'. There are four references to his name.

(a) 'Laṅaḥ Śākaṭāyansyeva'                    - P. A. 3.4.111
(b) 'Dviṣaśca'                                         - P. A. 3.4.112
(c) 'Vyorlaghuprayatnataraḥ Śākaṭāyanasya'   - P. A. 8.3.18
(d) 'Triprabhṛtiṣu Śākaṭāyanasya'              - P. A. 8.4.50

The treaties known as 'Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa' [34] may help in comparing the data from 'Pāṇini'. The tradition has the record of the two grammarians with the same name as 'Śākaṭāyana', one is anterior to 'Pāṇini' and the other is posterior to 'Pāṇini'. The 'Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa' is composed by the later 'Śākaṭāyana' who is known as a Jain grammarian. This treatise however is based on the grammatical principles of the earlier 'Śākaṭāyana' and there is no other source than this grammar to know about the grammatical principles of 'Śākaṭāyana'. The tradition also takes it for granted that the later 'Śākaṭāyana' has somehow found out the treatise of the earlier 'Śākaṭāyana' or he has the tradition of grammar (being the remote descendent) and then he framed a system of grammar which bears the title as 'Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa' but the point is still in dark.

According to Dr. Belvalkar [35] the 'Śā. Vyā' (including the commentary 'Amoghavṛtti' ) is the same as 'Śabdānuśāsana' and the

date of the 'Śā. Vyā' is 9th century A.D. These works are posterior to 'Pāṇini' and the important change that is found is that except in three cases, he has invariably substituted the term 'Vā' for the words 'Vibhāṣā, Anyatarasyām' or has quoted the name of some ancient authority. Dr. Belvalkar further adds that the name 'Śākaṭāyana' suggests, as we have seen, a very high antiquity in that it is quoted in the 'Nirukta' [36] (1.3) and in Pāṇini's 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' (3.4.111, 112, 8.3.18, 8.4.50). None of the treaties of the ancient 'Śākaṭāyana' has survived even in name. The grammar which is known as 'Śā-Vyā' is to be attributed to the modern 'Śākaṭāyana', the person, who under this appellation is quoted, for instance in Bopadeva's 'Kāmadhenu' and by Hemacandra and other later writers.[37]

Here is the discussion of the rules in which 'Śākaṭāyana's' opinion is presented.

(8) 'Laṅaḥ Śākaṭāyanasyeva' - P. A. 3.4.111

'Kāśikā'.[38] explains the rule as follows - 'Ākārantā duttarasya laṅādeśasya zerjusādeśo śākaṭāyanasyācāryasya matena'. 'Anyeṣām mate 'ayān'. According to 'Pāṇini' in the opinion of 'Śāka.' only, 'Jus' is the substitute of 'ZI' in the imperfect of the roots which end in long 'ā'. A rule in 'Śā. Vyā' which is somehow parallel to the rule 3.4.111 of 'Pāṇini' has different wording than that of 'Pāṇini'.

'Ādviṣo zerjus vā', 'Śā. Vyā' 1.4.106 (To know the implication of this rule a group of rules from 'Pāṇini' is to be studied together.

(a) 'Zerjus' - P. A. 3.4.108

In the potential and in the benedictive moods, 'Jus' is the substitute of 'ZI' the suffix of the third person plural ('Parasmaipada').

(b) 'Sijabhyastavidibhyaśca' - P. A. 3.4.109

(In those tenses which are marked with 'Ñ' ) 'Jus' is the substitute of 'ZI' when it comes after an aorist 'sIC' or the imperfect of a reduplicated verb or the root 'Vid' to know.

(c) 'Ātaḥ' - P. A. 3.4.110

When 'sIC' is elided 'Jus' is the substitute of 'ZI' after an aorist stem which ends in 'ā'. Then comes the rule -

(d) 'Laṅaḥ Śākaṭāyansyeva' the implication of which is already noted above.

(9) 'Dviṣaśca' - P. A. 3.4.112

Only in the opinion of 'Śākaṭāyana', 'Jus' is the substitute of 'ZI' in the imperfect after the root 'Dviṣ' (to hate).

These rules are collected from Pāṇini's 'Aṣṭādhyāyī'. According to 'Pāṇini' the rule 'Zerjus' operates as follows : -

1.   'Liṅaḥ zerjus' - for all roots, accepted by all grammarians.

2.   'Ākārantāt luṅaḥ' ('sIC' elided) 'Zerjus' - for the roots ending in long 'ā', accepted by all grammarians.

3.   In the rule 'Sijabhyastavidibhyaśca' there is reference to all four 'Ṅit lakāra '' while in 'Zerjus' and 'Ātaḥ' there is no refer- ence to 'Laṅ'.

4.   In the opinion of 'Pāṇini', 'Śākaṭāyana' is the only pleader of the opinion that in the case of all 'ā' - ending roots and in the case of the root 'Dviṣ', 'ZI' is substituted by 'Jus' in 'Laṅ'.

A more interesting point lies in the rule 'Ādviṣo zerjus vā' which is taken from the 'Śā. Vyā'.

'Śākaṭāyana' opines as follows - all the roots ending in 'ā' and the root 'Dviṣ' have the substitute 'Jus' optionally (for 'ZI') in all the four 'Ṅit lakāra '' (the terms having 'Ṅ' as an indicatory letter). The following points are explained by this rule.

(a)   This rule is originally optional in the 'Śāka. Vyā', because the word 'Vā' is used, while in 'Pāṇini' it is considered as optional one, because of the reference to the sage-name. In the 'Śā. Vyā' option is indicated by the term 'Vā' which is a primary option - indicative - term but in 'Pāṇini's' grammar it is indicated by a secondary option - indicative - term i.e. by the name of the authority. It comes to mean that 'Śākaṭāyana' himself has come across two forms of the above mentioned verbs i.e. the roots ending in long 'Ā'. and root

'Dviṣ' and 'Pāṇini' admits them relying upon the authority of 'Śākaṭāyana'.

    (b) 'Śākaṭāyana's' rule is meant for all 'Nit - lakāra ˢ' ('Ṅillā-deśasya' as '*Amoghavṛtti*' explains) while in 'Pāṇini' separate rules are formed for 'Liṅ, Luṅ and Laṅ' (i. e. 'Zerjus, Liṅaḥ or Sijabhya-stavidibhyaśca - Ātaḥ'). In 'Pāṇini' there is no reference to 'Lṛṅ'.

    (c) In all the four 'Ṅit - lakāra ˢ' the object is the same. The operation is expected for all 'ā' - ending roots and for the verb 'Dviṣ' while in 'Pāṇini', the objects change according to the rules. Because the object is constant one rule suffices in '*Śā. Vyā*' ; but 'Pāṇini' requires four rules to govern these forms as he finds changes in forms used at his times. Though P. A. 3.4.111 - 112 have different objects than that of 'Zerjus and Ātaḥ' there seems no difficulty in combining the two rules P. A. 3.4.111 and 112.

    'Śākaṭāyana's' rule should be studied more carefully. The '*Amoghavṛtti*' in explaining this rule gives examples as 'Ayuḥ -Ayān, Apuḥ - Apān, and Adviṣuḥ - Adviṣan'. The roots 'Yā, Pā and Dviṣ' have optional forms as are given in the above mentioned commentary. This rule is originally an option-indicative and thus it indicates that 'Śākaṭāyana's' was knowing the forms 'Ayuḥ, Apuḥ and Adviṣuḥ'. The form 'Ayuḥ' occurs in the Vedic literature[39] though not in the '*Ṛgvedasaṁhitā*', so it cannot be said that 'Pāṇini' did not know the form and thus, 'Śākaṭāyana's' name does not suggest 'Pāṇini's' hesitation in accepting the form 'Ayuḥ'.

    Finally, the special mention of 'Śākaṭāyana's' name comes to mean that 'Śākaṭāyana' is the first to observe the form 'Ayuḥ' with 'Jus', he has noted it first and so 'Pāṇini' has given its credit to 'Śākaṭāyana' very rightly. It also makes clear that the unrestricted tendency of substituting 'Jus' for 'ZI' (which was prevalent in the vedic literature) was kept intact in the language (i. e. in classical language) in the region of 'Śākaṭāyana'.

    With reference to the '*Aṣṭādhyāyī*' text the repetition of the word 'Laṅaḥ' in 'Laṅaḥ Śākaṭāyanasyeva' strikes a bit. The rule ap-

plies to the 'Ṅit-lakāra', 'Laṅ' and 'Luṅ' out of which 'Luṅ' is already
dealt with in the previous rule, thus the context would have supplied
'Laṅaḥ' but the purpose for this repetition is to show that the rule
applies to those affixes which come after 'Laṅ as Laṅ' and not to
those which come after another tense which is like 'Laṅ' (i.e. 'Loṭo
Laṅvat' P. A. 3.4.85)

The 'Evakāra' in this rule is used for emphasis and should be
connected with 'Śākaṭāyana's' name. 'Bālamanoramā' remarks[40] that
the 'Evakāra' is used for the sake of following rules. 'Śākaṭāyana'
alone pleads the form 'Ayān'. Here is the problem. Traditional in-
terpreters take it for granted that the name of 'Śākaṭāyana' indicates
the optional use. Vyā.MB and TB, have no comment on his name
with reference to the option - indication. 'BM' follows[41] the tradi-
tional explanation. The 'Pradīpa'.[42] and the 'Udyota' supporting the
tradition explain the point as follows : -

'Pradīpa' - If we say that according to 'Śākaṭāyana' and 'ZI
of Laṅ' gets substituted by 'Jus' then it will mean that in the case of
'Luṅ', 'Jus' will not be seen. This will make the 'Jus' obligatory in
the case of 'Laṅ' and optional in the case of 'Luṅ'. This is an unde-
sired position. To avoid this one has to accept that 'Śākaṭāyana's'
name suggests option and also 'Evakāra' should be connected with
his name only. 'Udyota'.[43] supports the point in different words.
Without the implication of option by 'Śākaṭāyana's' name, the rule
will suggest the prohibition of the substitution (of 'ZI by Jus' ) in
the case of 'Luṅ' and it will also mean that others allow 'Jus' in the
case of 'Luṅ'. This will cause the problem and thus his name should
be taken as an option - indicative one.

To take the review - The word 'Vā' is a primary option - in-
dicative - word while 'Śākaṭāyana's' name is a secondary option -
indicative. The degree of option that is suggested by 'Vā' is greater
than the degree of option suggested by sage-name. Thus, it is clear
that the option suggested by 'Śākaṭāyana's' name is inferior accord-
ing to 'Pāṇini'. If one accepts the present 'Śā. Vyā.' as an authentic

then the term 'Vā' there, indicates primary option. It can also be said that in this case particularly, there is no option - indication (by his name) but his name is mentioned to differentiate him from other grammarians. His opinion in this context is not optional but unique.

(10) 'Vyorlaghuprayatnatarah Śākaṭāyanasya' - P.A. 8.3.18 This rule is previously referred to in the study of the rule 'Lopah Śākalyasya'. The detailed study is presented here. The rule teaches about the pronunciation of 'Y and V'. The 'Kāśikāvṛtti' explains[44] the rule as follows - The phrase 'Laghuprayatnatarah' means the less efforts (for the utterance) or the looseness with reference to the place of utternace. The rule states that 'V and Y' are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an 'aś' - letter, according to the opinion of 'Śākaṭāyana' when they occur at the end of the 'Pada'.

In the 'Śā. Vyā.', the rule is found with different wording. Two different rules are framed to denote the meaning which is indicated by one 'Pāṇinian' rule i. e. P.A.8.3.18

(a) 'Vyo ς syāghobhobhagoh - Śā.vyā'. 1.1.153

(b) 'Aci aspaṣṭaśca - Śā.vyā'. 1.1.154

The first rule states that the 'V and Y' if preceded by 'Agho, Bho and Bhago' are to be elided before a letter of 'aṣ pratyāhāra'.

In the 'Śā.Vyā', 'aṣ pratyāhāra' includes the following letters:- 'A, I, U, Ṛ, LṚ, E, O, AI, AU, H, Y, V, L, Ñ, M, Ṅ, Ṇ, N, J, B, G, Ḍ, D, JH, BH, GH, ḌH, and DH'. In 'Pāṇinian' grammar these letters are included in 'aŚ Pratyāhāra'. That is why 'Pāṇini' uses 'aŚ Pratyāhāra' in the rule 'Bhobhagoagho apūrvasya yo ς śi' and from this rule the word 'aŚ' is to be carried on in the rule 'Vyorlaghu - -'. In short, though there seems an apparent difference in the two 'Pratyāhāra ·' used by 'Pāṇini' and 'Śākaṭāyana' there is no practical difference.

The main difference lies in the statement. Before the 'aṣ Pratyāhāra', 'Yakāra' and 'Vakāra' at the end of the 'Pada' are to be completely elided[45] but before 'aC Pratyāhāra' they are to be slurred over (according to 'Śākaṭāyana aC = all vowels except Lṛ').

Generally, the word 'Luk' denotes the elision in 'Pāṇinian' system; 'Śā. Vyā.' uses the word 'Gluk' instead of 'Luk'. Commenting on this word the 'Amoghavṛtti' [46] says that the word 'Gluk' suggests slurring over and not complete elision. The position in 'Pāṇini's' grammar is different from that of 'Śā. Vyā'. Before all the letters which are included in 'Pāṇini's 'aśpratyāhāra, 'Y and V' have a lighter articulation. ('Gluk').

In the study of this rule, the rule 'Lopaḥ Śākalyasya' is to be referred to again. The 'aś - Pratyāhāra' is referred to in that rule. The 'aś - Pratyāhāra' in Pāṇinian grammar contains the same letters as the 'aṣ - pratyāhāra' in 'Śākalya' contains. If there would have been any difference in the letters of 'aś - Pratyāhāra' in 'Śākalya' and in 'aś - Pratyāhāra' in 'Pāṇini', 'Pāṇini' would have noted it in the rule itself; but as he has not specifically mentioned about the change in the letters it can be safely said that these two 'Pratyāhāra's' contain the same letters. 'Śākalya's' rule states complete elision of 'Y and V' preceded by 'a or ā' at the end of the 'Pada', while 'Śakaṭāyana' states lighter articulation. It may therefore be said that 'Śakaṭāyana's' rule is an amendment to 'Śākalya's' rule. It seems that 'Śākalya' has observed the forms with complete elision of 'Y and V' while at 'Śakaṭāyana's' time the tendency of slurring over was prominent. This comparison shows the difference between the styles of pronunciation. One can have glance at the different positions of 'Y and V' according to the opinion of different sages.

Position of Y and V.

A) **'Śākalya'** - elision of 'Y and V' before a letter of 'aś Pratyāhāra' - optional
'Kākayāste' - 'Y' uttered completely
or 'Kāka Āste' - 'V' elided completely

B) **'Śakaṭāyana'** - (according to 'Pāṇini' ) lighter articulation of 'Y and V' before 'aś' - optional
a) 'Bhoyatra' - heavy articulation of 'Y' (no elision)

<div align="right">or b) 'Bhoyatra' -lighter articulation<br>of 'Y'<br>or c) 'Bho Atra' - complete elision<br>of 'Y'</div>

C) <u>'Śākaṭāyana'</u> - (according to 'Śā.Vyā.') elision of 'Y and V' before a letter of 'aṢ Pratyāhāra' and lighter articulation before 'aC Pratyāhāra' 'Agho Dehi' - complete elision of 'Y'

or 'Aghoy Dehi' - lighter articulation before 'aC'

'Bhago Atra' - complete elision of 'Y'

'Bhagoyatra' - lighter articulation.

D) <u>'Sārvamatam'</u> - (according to 'Pāṇini')

a) obligatory elision of 'y' and 'v' when they are followed by 'u' provided that 'u' is a word (cf. 'Uñi Ca Pade'. P. A. 8.3.21) 'Sa u ekāgniḥ' - and not 'Say u ekāgniḥ'.

b) obligatory elision of 'y' (only) when preceded by 'Bho, Bhago, Agho or by a or ā' before a consonant.

'Bho Hasati' and not 'Bhoy Hasati'.

E) <u>'Gārgya'</u> - obligatory elision of 'y' when is preceded by 'o' and followed by a letter of 'aŚ Pratyāhāra' (cf. 'Oto Gārgasya' P. A. 8.3.20) 'Bhago Idam' and not 'Bhagoy Idam'.

F) <u>'Śākaṭāyana'</u> - (according 'Śā.vyā') 'y and v' preceded by 'ā' and at the end of the 'Pada' are to be slurred over when followed by 'aC except uñ' ('Uñ iti nipāto na pratyāhāraḥ'). . .Originally optional rule ('Vā ç nuñyāt . Śā.vyā' . 1.1.155).[47]

In this case also 'Śākaṭāyana's' name cannot be said to be an option - indicative in the true sense of the word because 'Śākaṭāyana'' is the only sage stating lighter articulation while 'Śākalya and Gārgya' state either heavy articulation or complete elision. But as this rule is applicable to the oral traditions of pronunciation his name can be taken to indicate option in this rule.

'Pāṇini' - 'Aṣṭādhyāyī'

a)    'Aco Rahābhyām Dve' - P. A. 8.4.46
          'Acaḥ Uttarau Yau Rephahakārau Tābhyāmuttarasya Yaraḥ Dve
Vā Bhavataḥ' (Vasu's note) according to others (other than 'Pāṇini')
'Vā' from the previous rule (i.e. 'Yaro ç nunāsike ç nunāsiko Vā' )
is to be understood here. 'Yar' = all consonants except h

> 1)    'Hari Anubhavaḥ'
>        'Hary Anubhavaḥ' ('Iko Yaṇaci' )
>        'Haryanubhavaḥ' (noreduplication) or 'Haryyanubhavaḥ'
>        (by the rule 'Aco Rahābhyām Dve' - P.A. 8.4.46 )

> 2)    'Nahi Asti'
>        'Nahy Asti' ('Iko Yaṇaci' )
>        'Nahyasti' ( no reduplication) or 'Nahyyasti' by P. A. 8.4.46

This rule is originally optional as the word 'Vā' is carried on from
the previous rule.

---

b)    'Anaci Ca' - P. A. 8.4.47
          'Acaḥ Uttarasya Yaraḥ Dve Bhavataḥ Vā Anaci Parataḥ'
          This is optional statement and a positive one.
          'Dadhi Atra'
          'Dadhy Atra' ('Iko Yaṇaci' )
          'Daddhy Atra' ('Anaci Ca' )
          'Daddhyatra' or 'Dadhyatra'

---

c)    'Nādinyākrośe Putrasya' - P. A. 8.4.48
'Ādinī Parataḥ Ākrośe Gamyamāne Putraśabdasya Dve Na
Bhavataḥ'

> 1)    'Putrādinī Tvamasi Pāpe' . . . . . . . .(without doubling because
>                                         the sense is that of 'Ākrośa' )
> 2)    'Puttrādinī Sarpiṇī' . . . . .(common expression of censure thus
>                                         doubling takes place.)

It is a negative statement.

'Śākaṭāyana' - ('Śāka. Vyā.')

(a)      'Aco Hro ʂ hracaḥ' Śa. Vyā. 1.1.117

'Acaḥ Uttaro Yo Hakāro Rephaśca Tābhyām Parasya Ahracaḥ -
Hakārādrephātcānyasya Varṇasya Sthāne Dve Rūpe Bhavato Vā'.

|            |              |                          |
|------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1)         | 'Hari Atra'  |                          |
|            | 'Hary Atra'  | ('Iko Yaṇaci')           |
|            | 'Haryatra'   | (no reduplication) or    |
|            | 'Haryyatra'  | ('Aco Hro ʂ hracaḥ')     |
| 2)         | 'Nahi Asti'  |                          |
|            | 'Nahy Asti'  |                          |

'Nahyasti' (no reduplication) or 'Nahyyasti' ('Aco Hro ʂ hracaḥ').

        The 'Pratyāhāra Yar' (in 'Pāṇini') excludes 'h' but includes
'r' which is excluded by 'Śākaṭāyana', This rule is also originally
optional as it carries the word 'Vā' from the previous rule. The 'Yaraḥ'
(in 'Pāṇini') = 'Ahracaḥ Varṇasya ('in Śākaṭāyana') which restricts
'r' also to get substituted by doubling.

---

b)      'Aci ' - Śa. Vyā. 1.1.121

        'Adīrghātparasya Ahracaḥ Sthāne ʂ ci Pare Dve Rūpe Na
Bhavataḥ'

        'Dadhi Atra'_____'Dadhyatra'
        and not the optional from _____ 'Daddhyatra'.
        This is a negative statement and an obligatory one and the
        condition of 'Adīrghatva' is added here as compared to the Pāṇinian
        rule, as the statement is for short vowels only.
        Finally 'Aci Pare Na = Anaci Pare Bhavataḥ'.

---

c)      'Putrasyādiputrādinyākośe' - Śa. Vyā. 1.1.120

        'Putrasyādin Śabde Pare, Putrādin Śabde Ca Pare Ākrośe
Viṣaye Dve Rūpe Na Bhavataḥ'       ( A negative statement).

1) 'Putrādinī Tvamasi Hā Pāpe'. . .no doubling ('Ākrośa' under-
stood)

2) 'Puttrādinī Sarpiṇi' . . . . . . .doubling ( only censure understood)

d)   'Śaro ç ci' - P. A. 8.4.49
     'Śaro ç ci Parataḥ Dve Rūpe Na Bhavataḥ'
     'Karṣ + Ati' = 'Karṣati'  and not 'Karṣṣati'
     so also 'Varṣati, Ākarṣaḥ'  etc.

---

e)   'Triprabhṛtiṣu Śākaṭāyanasya' - P. A. 8.4.50
     'Triprabhṛtiṣu Varṇeṣu Saṁyukteṣu Śākaṭāyanasya
     Ācāryasya Matena Dvitvam Na Bhavati'.('Indraḥ and not
Inndraḥ') This rule is not optional originally but because of the sage-
name it has become so. And thus 'Inndraḥ' and 'Channdraḥ' are
allowed.

---

f)   'Dīrghādācāryāṇām'  - P.A. 8.4.52
     'Dīrghāduttarasya Ācāryāṇām Matena Dvitvam Na Bhavati
     Dātram, Pātram, Mūtram, Sūtram'.
     This is a negative statement about doubling when long vowel
preceds.

---

11) 'Triprabhṛtiṣu Śākaṭāyanasya' - P. A. 8.4.50.
     This rule deals with re-duplication. 'Kāśikā' [48] has no special
comment on this rule. The rule states that in the opinion of
'Śākaṭāyana', when the conjunct consonants are three or more in
number doubling does not take place optionally.
     For the study of this rule, two groups of rules are presented in
tabular analysis. (Please read pages 122-123 and 124-125 together).
                         OBSERVATIONS
     The tabular analysis reveals the following points.
     1)   The objects of the rules and the conditions in which these
rules operate are different in 'Sā. vyā.' and in the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī'. Though
the final statements of these two grammarians about reduplication
match with each other 'Sā. vyā.' has put them in negative mode.

d)    'Śaraḥ' - *Śā. Vyā.* 1.1.122
      'Śaro ৎ ci Pare Dve Rūpe Na Bhavataḥ'
      'Vṛṣ + Aṇ' ('a' )
      'Vṛṣ + a' = 'Varṣa' and not 'Varṣṣaḥ'

e)    'Na Saṁyoge' - *Śā. Vyā.* 1.1.119
'Halo ৎ nantaraḥ Saṁyogaḥ Saṁyoge Pare Ahracaḥ Sthāne Dve
Rūpe Na Bhavataḥ'
         'Indraḥ', and not 'Inndraḥ' ( This rule is an obligatory state-
ment and a negative one.)
         'Candraḥ', and not 'Canndraḥ' ( No option allowed.)

f)    'Adīrghāt' - *Śā. Vyā.* 1.1.118
      'Adīrghāt Acaḥ Parasya Ahracaḥ Sthāne Dve Rūpe Bhavato
      Vā, Dadhyatra or Daddhyatra'.
      This is originally optional statement.
      'Pāṇini' - Dīrghāt Na Bhavati = Hrasvāt Bhavati - obligatory
      'Śākaṭāyana' - Adīrghāt Vā Bhavati = Hrasvāt Vā Bhavati
      = Dīrghāt Na Bhavati

Finally 'Pāṇini' and 'Śākaṭāyana' agree with each other in (f) rules.

      2)    '*Śā. vyā.*' has clumsy way of interpretation while 'Pāṇini'
is easy to understand.
      3)    'Śākaṭāyana' does not allow reduplication at all while
in 'Pāṇini' it has become optional due to the use of the sage-name.
      It is not possible to show the development of the language
through one particular example but we can compare the two
rules 'Triprabhṛtiṣu Śākaṭāyanasya' and 'Na saṁyoge'. The
comparison of these two rules shows that 'Śākaṭāyana' has no
expectation of a particular number of consonants for conjuction (and
doubling by the way) while 'Pāṇini' has added it on his name and he
adds one more rule on 'Śākalya's' name, stating that there is no re-
duplication at all. A point may be noted here. The two words from

the 'Vṛtti' of the rule 'Na Saṃyoge' are eloquent in this case and those are 'Saṃyoge Pare'. The phrase 'Saṃyoge Pare' implies two consonants after a consonant ( which is to be doubled) and it makes at least three consonants in a word at 'Juxta' - position (This naturally makes a conjunction of three or more consonants.) That is what 'Pāṇini' implies by the word 'Triprabhṛtiṣu' i. e. from three onwards. Finally, these two rules are totally opposite to each other ; 'Pāṇini' optionally allowing the reduplication on the authority of 'Śākaṭāyana and Śākaṭāyana' not allowing it at all. This again creates doubt about the authority of the opinions noted on 'Śākaṭāyana's' name in 'Śā. vyā.'.

The rules 'Triprabhṛtiṣu Śākaṭāyanasya' and 'Sarvatra Śākalyasya' denote the difference in reduplication. This difference has taken place because of the peculiarities of pronunciation. If a short vowel is followed by a conjuct letter naturally that short vowel is uttered as a long vowel. Here the question does not arise whether this conjuction is made of two or more letters. In some regions the first of the conjunct consonants is doubled and in some regions it is kept as it is. It will not make any difference in the utterance of the previous letter i. e. the 'Ukāra' in 'Pu' of the word 'Putra'. One may write the word either as 'Putra or Puttra'. In short, in the Northern region of 'Śākalya' there was no tendency of trippling the consonants while in the Eastern region of 'Śākaṭāyana' this tendency was seen.[49] 'Pāṇini' has noted both the tendencies.

12) 'Dīrghādācāryāṇām' - P. A. 8.4.52. The rule is to be studied in details.

This rule teaches about doubling. It states that according to the opinion of the teachers there is no reduplication after a long vowel. 'Kāśikā' has no special comment on this rule. BM.[50] on this rule says that some of the sages are against the tendency of doubling after a long vowel. That means some sages have positive opinion for the reduplication after a long vowel. Thus it should be considered as an optional rule. TB. has no comment on this rule.

Further, it should be examined whether by the word 'Ācāryā', 'Pāṇini' wants to indicate sages of a particular region for otherwise he would have used the word 'Ekeṣām' as he has used it in the rule 'Yajuṣyekeṣām' (P.A.8.1.104). In one more rule he uses the word 'Ācāryāṇām' and that is -

13) 'Ād Ācāryāṇām' (P. A. 7.3.49). 'Kāśikā' [51] has no special comment on this rule.

The rule teaches about the 'ā'- substitution. It states that, according to the opinion of the teachers, 'ā' is substituted for 'a', which arose from the shortening of a feminine 'ā' of a word, which has no corresponding masculine form. Thus, we have 'Khatvākā, Akhatvākā or Paramakhatvākā'. When 'Pāṇini' wants to indicate all the grammarians in general, he uses the word 'Sarveṣām'. Thus, it is clear that the word 'Ācāryāṇām' is a reference to a particular person.

In both the cases 'Kāśikā' does not comment on the word 'Ācāryāṇām'. B.M. and T.B. also do not have any comment on the word 'Ācāryāṇām'.

It is possible that he is referring to his own teacher by the word 'Ācāryā' and the plural 'Ācāryāṇām' shows his respect to his teacher. (That is why the word is translated as 'the teacher'.) Though he himself does not name his teacher, there is one reference to his name. His teacher's name is 'Upādhyāya Varṣa'. The 'Kathāsarit-sāgara' [52] makes 'Pāṇini' contemporary to 'Kātyāyana, Vyāḍi and Indradatta' along with whom he studied at the house of 'Upādhyāya Varṣa'. In that case, the two rules 'Ād Ācāryāṇām' and 'Dīrghādā-cāryāṇām' may be considered as the respected opinions of his Guru. 'Pāṇini' does not show any kind of discontent towards those opinions but he simply refers to them. Thus, these two rules show his respect to his teacher and also indicate option, so their mention is for 'Pūjārtha' and 'Vikalpārtha' at one and the same time. It is 'Vikalpārtha' because 'Pāṇini' has noted this particular operation on the authority of his teacher and not as his own opinion.

In fact, these two rules as they come under the second group

(P.No.97, No.13, 14, 15.) should be studied later but as there is reference to the rule 'Dīrghādācāryāṇām' in the study of 'Śakaṭā-yana's' rules, both the rules are studied here.

14) 'Avaṅ Sphoṭāyansya' - P. A. 6.1.123 The rule deals with substitution.

According to the opinion of 'Sphoṭāyana' (Sphoṭa) the vowel 'o' in the word 'Go' is substituted by 'avaṄ' when it comes at the end of the 'Pada' and when it followed by an 'aC' letter (i. e. any vowel). *Kāśikā* on this rule comments [53] that the mention of Sphoṭāyana's name is for the sake of respect. The word 'Vibhāṣā' is carried over from the previous rule (i.e. 'Sarvatra Vibhāṣā Goḥ' ). This P.A. 6.1.123 is a case of limited option. (i.e. 'Vyavasthita Vibhāṣā' ). In this rule, the sage - name does not indicate option for three reasons.

1) The word 'Vibhāṣā' is carried over in this rule from the previous rule.

2) '*Kāśikā*' notes this rule as an example of 'Vyavasthita Vibhāṣā'. Here is the point. If the option is to be indicated by 'Sphoṭā-yana's' name, the rule cannot be called a 'Vyavasthita Vibhāṣā' rule because option - indicative - capacity of a sage - name is of the lowest degree. 'Vyavasthita Vibhāṣā' is always indicated either by the term 'Vā' or 'Vibhāṣā' as they are primary - option - indicatives and in a few cases by the term 'Anyatarasyām' but never by a sage name.

3) The following rule 'Indre Ca - - -' P. A. 6.1.124 contains the word 'Ca'.

In 'Pāṇini', many times 'Ca' is used to stop the 'Anuvṛtti' of certain words.[54] The function of the word 'Ca' in the rule P. A. 6.1.124 is to carry the word 'avaṄ' and to prevent it from going to the next rule. The word 'Nityam' in this rule naturally stops the 'Anuvṛtti' of the term 'Vibhāṣā' and thus the rule becomes obligatory. The word 'Nityam' in this rule shows that the term 'Vibhāṣā' has come upto P. A. 6.1.123 and that is debarred by the word 'Nityam'.

These three points very clearly indicate that the option is de-noted by the term 'Vibhāṣā' and not by sage-name.

*Vyā.MB, Pradīpa and Udyota* have no comment on Sphoṭā-yana's name.*B.M.*[55] argues that option is indicated by Sphoṭāyana's name, but in that case the word 'Vibhāṣā' in the previous rule would be redundant. *T.B.*[56] rightly remarks that 'Sphoṭāyana's' name is to pay respect because 'Vibhāṣā' is carried on. If at all we are accepting that the name of 'Sphoṭāyana' indicates option, it will mean that in the dialect represented by the sage 'Sphoṭāyana' there were two forms prevalent and in that dialect itself they were used optionally. Finally, it means 'Sphoṭāyana' allows both the forms 'Gaviṣṭi and Gaveṣṭi'.

Now, we shall see the actual form according to the opinion of 'Sphoṭayana'.

'Go + Iṣṭi - - - Gava + Iṣṭi - - -Gaveṣṭi' ('Aden guṇaḥ' )

Normal Sandhi

'Go + Iṣṭi - - -Gav + Iṣṭi - - -Gaviṣṭi'      ('Eco ꞔ yavāyāvaḥ' )

However, the form is used as 'Gaviṣṭi' and not as 'Gaveṣṭi'.

Now, in the case of 'Indre Ca Nityam - - '

'Go + Indra - - - - Gav + Indraḥ - - - Gavindraḥ' (normal Sandhi by 'Eco ꞔ yavāyāvaḥ' ),

but this form is never used. In the case of the word Indra, 'avaṆ' is obligatory. ( cf . P. A. 6.1.124) Thus,

<div align="center">

'Go + Indraḥ'

'Gava + Indraḥ'

'Gavendraḥ'

</div>

All the grammarians including 'Sphoṭāyana' agree with this form.

The sage name coming with the 'Anuvṛtti' of the term 'Vibhāṣā' is a peculiar case and it explains the cases like 'Gaviṣṭi' and 'Go Agram'.[56] There arises a question about the word 'Sarvatra'. Along with the word 'Vibhāṣā', the word 'Sarvatra' can also be carried over from the previous rule. If the word 'Sarvatra' is carried

on it will mean that according to 'Sphoṭāyana', 'avaṄ' takes place for the 'o' of 'Go' everywhere when the word 'Go' is followed by a vowel. Then the forms like 'Go-Agram' or 'Go-Arṇas' which show the 'Prakṛtibhāva' - position cannot be explained. These two forms are attested in the '*Ṛgveda*'.[57] in their 'Prakṛtibhāva' - position. Finally, only the word 'Vibhāṣā' is carried over and not the word 'Sarvatra'. The name of 'Sphoṭāyana' - (which is mentioned for the explanation of classical forms mainly) denotes dialectal option.

The rule P.A.6.3.61 which deals with the substitution of short vowels in place of long vowels is as follows : -

15) 'Iko Hrasvo ç ṅyo Gālavasya' - P. A. 6.3.61

The rule states that in the opinion of 'Gālava', for the long 'iK' - vowels ( i.e. 'ī, ū, ṝ,' ) a short vowel is substituted, before the second member of the compound, provided that the vowel is not of the feminine suffix 'ṄiṢ'. '*Kāśikā*' explains [58] the rule by carrying the word 'Anyatarasyām' from the rule P.A.6.3.59 ('Ekahalādau Pūrayitavye ç nyatarasyām'). According to it, this rule is 'Vyavasthita Vibhāṣā'. '*Vyā.MB*', '*Pradīpa*', and '*Udyota*' have no comment on 'Gālava's' name. *BM.*[59] however says that 'Gālava's' name is not for option - indication but to pay regards to him. The function of option - indication is already done by the word 'Anyatarasyām'. It may be argued that the word 'Ca' in P.A.6.3.60 stops the 'Anuvṛtti' of 'Anyatarasyām' and thus the sage - name indicates option, but the argument cannot stand for the reason that 'Ca' has another function of carrying on the theme of 'Udaḥ' from the previous rule (i.e. 'Udakasyodaḥ Saṁjñāyām' - P. A. 6.3.59) The rule P. A. 6.3.61 has a fresh topic, not connected with the former, and that is the substitution of 'iK' - vowels.

Moreover, this rule is an example of 'Vyavasthita - Vibhāṣā'; and expects some important option - indicative - term to indicate that option. Thus, the word 'Anyatarasyām' is necessary in this rule (which can be easily carried on) and the sage - name only remains to pay respect. *TB.* has no comment on 'Gālava's' name.

'Patañjali' at another place [60] remarks on'Gālava's' name, when he discusses the rule 'Naveti Vibhāṣā' P.A.1.1.44. He says that 'Gālava's' name is introduced to pay respect to him and the name of the region, when it is mentioned, is to pay honour to that region (i.e. for the fame of that region). He further comments, 'Let the Gālavas use short'. The wording indicates his hesitation to use short, but Pāṇini's intention does not seem so. As the word 'Anyatarasyām' is carried on in the rule P.A.6.3.61 'Pāṇini' intends that the use of short vowel should be optional. *Pradīpa* rightly remarks[61] that 'Gālava' has recorded this opinion in his *'Smṛti'* and thus to honour him, his name is recorded in the *'Aṣṭādhyāyī'*.

In short, 'Gālava's' name does not indicate option in this rule, the two alternative forms as 'Grāmaṇiputraḥ or Grāmaṇīputraḥ' are obtained because of the word 'Anyatarasyām'. Another rule on 'Gālava's' name is ;

16) 'Tṛtīyādiṣu Bhāṣitapuṁskam Puṁvad Gālavasya'. P. A. 7.1.74

In the opinion of 'Gālava's', a neuter stem, ending in a vowel (except 'a') and which has an equivalent masculine form, is treated like masculine before the vowel beginning affixes of the third case and the cases following it. For example, the word like 'Grāmaṇi or Śuci' are to be conjugated as the masculine words. Thus, two forms can be obtained as 'Grāmaṇinā or Grāmaṇyā' for the instrumental singular and 'Śucaye or Śucine' for the dative singular. *Vyā.MB.*, *Pradīpa* and *Udyota* and also *TB.* have no comment on 'Gālava's' name. *BM.*[62] says that P.A.7.1.74 has optional application because of the name of the sage 'Gālava'. In the explanation of the word 'Puṁvad', the *Vyā.MB.*[63] says that the suffix 'vat' is used to show ' is and is not' or ' becomes and does not become' etc. If the 'vat'-suffix in the word 'Puṁvad' also indicates the same meaning then the line comes to mean that the 'Bhāṣitapuṁska' is treated like masculine and is also not treated like masculine but in this rule the option of using a masculine or otherwise, is due to the word 'Gālavasya'

and not to the word 'Puṁvad'. The rule 'Loṭo Laṅvat' P. A. 3.4.85 also uses the suffix 'vat', but there is no chance for option - indication by that suffix. It clearly indicates that 'vat' never indicates option and the option - indication in P. A. 7.1.74 is only by 'Gālava's' name.

17) 'Aṭ Gārgyagālavayoḥ' - P. A. 7.3.99

This rule mentions the names of two sages and enjoins the augment 'aṬ' for particular roots. The five roots (i. e. the root 'Rud' and the following four ) take the augment 'aṬ' before a 'Sārvadhā- tuka - affix'. This rule adds that in the opinion of 'Gārgya and Gālava' the augment 'aṬ' comes before a 'Sārvadhātuka' affix which consists of a single vowel after the five roots i.e. ' Rud, Svap, Śvas, Prajan and Jakṣ'. Thus, two forms of each root can be obtained as 'Arodat' and 'Arodīt'. It seems that the augment 'aṬ' is the device to retain the vowel 'a' which otherwise would have been cancelled by the rule 'Adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ Śapaḥ'.

The formation of the form 'Arodat' is as follows : -

| Rud | + | Laṅ | | | | | ('Anadyatane Laṅ' - P. A. 3.2.111) |
|-----|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rud | + | Tip | | | | | ('Tiptaszi' P. A. 3.4.78 ) |
| Rud | + | T | | | | | |
| Rud | + | Śap+ | T | | | | ('Kartari Śap' - P. A. 3.1.68 ) |
| Rud | + | A | + | T | | | |
| Aṭ | + | Rud+ | A | + T | | | ('Luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣvaḍudāttaḥ'P.A.- 6.4.71) |
| Aṭ | + | Rud | + | x(O) + | T | | ('Adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ Śapaḥ' - P. A. 2.4.72) |
| A | + | Rud | + | T | | | |
| A | + | Rud | + | Aṭ + | T | | ('Aṭ Gārgyagālavayoḥ'-P.A. 7.3.99) |
| A | + | Rud | + | A | + | T | ('Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ' - P. A. 7.3.84 ) |

'Arodat'

About the form 'Arodīt'.

Rud     +     Laṅ-    ('Anadyatane Laṅ' - P. A. 3.2.111)

Rud    +    Tip -    ('Tiptaszi' - - - - P. A. 3.4.78 )

Rud    +    T

aṬ    +    Rud    +    iṬ    +    T -    ('Luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣvaḍudāttaḥ' -

P. A. 6.4.71

and 'Rudaśca Pañcabhyaḥ Iṭ' - P. A. 7.3.98 )

a    +    Rud    +    ī    +    T

'Arodīt' - ('Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ' - P. A. 7.3.84 )

In the absence of 'aṬ', 'iṬ' is there and thus there is no problem which is caused by 'Śapluk'. Finally, two forms are obtained as alternatives to each other i. e. 'Arodat and Arodīt'.

The important point is about the changes that take place in the language. In the 'Ṛgveda' one gets the forms as 'Rudataḥ' [64] or 'Rudanti' [65]. The form 'Rudataḥ' as is used there, is not a verbal form but it is an acusative plural of the present participle 'Rudat' which indicates the subject. Thus, there airses no question of 'Guṇa'. The other form 'Rudanti' is a third person plural of the present tense. 'Guṇa' operation has not taken place but one gets the form 'Rodanti in Jai-upa-brā.' [66] and in the 'Śa-brā'. [67] the form is 'Arodīt'. That is to say, the form with 'Guṇa' is a later stage. 'Chānda.upa' [68] shows the form with 'Guṇa' and that is 'Roditi'. 'Tai.Saṃhitā' [69] also shows 'Guṇa' and that form is 'Arodīt'. The form 'Roditi' can be explained by the general rule 'Rudādibhyaḥ Sārvadhātuke' ( P. A. 7.2.76) which ordains 'iṬ' for 'Valādi - Sārvadhātuka'- suffix. The suffix being 'PIT' (tip) and augment 'iṬ' being 'AṄIT' there is no harm for 'Guṇa'. If compared to the 'Saṃhitā literature', the 'Tai.Saṃhitā.' alone shows the form with 'Guṇa' but the date of 'Tai.Saṃhitā.', as is accepted by scholars is quite late; it can be safely said that the tendency of 'Guṇa' is quite late.

The Vyā.MB., BM. and TB. do not comment on the names of the sages, though they have explained the rule. S. C. Vasu. [70] in his edition of 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' says that the very statement of rule makes it optional and the option - indication is not due to the sage - names. Vasu's statement here seems to be unsound. The rule without the

names of'Gārgya - Gālava', would have been an obligatory state-
ment and it would have debarred the previous rule by the
'Vipratiṣedha maxim'. The mention of the sages have made the rule
optional and thus the previous rule has not become redundant; but
due to its optional application in the absence of'aṬ', the augment'īṬ'
also can take place. Both the rules P. A. 7.3.98 - obligatory and the
rule P. A. 7.3.99 - optional are very much necessary to explain the
existent forms. Unless the rule 99 is considered as optional, rule 98
can not be explained. The option - indicative quality of this rule is
restricted to rule no.99 only because rule no.100 uses the word
'Sarveṣām'. When it is an opinion of all the sages it becomes an
obligatory rule. It clearly indicates that option - indication is done
by the sage - names and not by the very statement.It is true that
Pāṇini wants to give credit to those sages for recording this opinion.
If he has to indicate option only, one name would have sufficed.
But 'Pāṇini' mentioning both the names, in this rule wants to state
that both the sages have found the forms with augment'aṬ' and thus
both are to be given credit for this observation.

Further, we shall proceed with the rule : -

18) 'Nodāttasvaritodayamagārgyakāśyapagālavānām'. P. A.
8.4.67

This rule comes in the context of the accents.'*Kāśikā*' ex-
plains it as follows -'Udāttodayasya Svaritodayasya Cānudāttasya
Svarito Na Bhavati Agārya - Kāśyapagālavānām Ācāryaṇām
Matena'. This rule states that except the sages 'Gārgya, Kāśyapa
and Gālava', all others prohibit the substitution of'Svarita' in the
place of an 'Anudātta' when that'Anudātta' is followed by either
an'Udātta' or by'Svarita'.

*Vyā.MB.*, *Pradīpa* and *Udyota* do not comment on this rule.
*BM.* has no comment on the sage - names. *TB.* also does not com-
ment on the option - indicative capcity of these sage - names but it is
clear that these names do not denote option. This rule shows a pecu-
liarity about the accentuation as regards the'Saṁhitāpāṭha'. Every

school has its own tradition of the recitation of the 'Vedic Mantra' and moreover the student of a particular school does not accept another tradition of recitation, in this way the style of pronunciation is fixed and there are no optional methods in recitation.

In the case of this particular rule ( i. e. P. A. 8.4.67 ) when all other grammarians are prohibiting the substitution of 'Svarita' in the place of an 'Anudātta, Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava' allow this substitution. In this case, these three sages are obligatorily substituting the 'Anudātta' by 'Svarita' while others are strictly prohibiting it. It indicates that the methods of each school are fixed and thus the followers of both the schools ( schools are represented by the two groups of sages ) are compelled to recite the Mantra ' in a particular style, which is taught by their teacher. When such is the case the rule cannot be called an optional rule. In short, in this rule the sage - names do not indicate option. *TB.*[71] has stated one more point. This rule is apparently a negative statement, which gives a positive sense. Instead of using two negatives i. e. 'Na' and 'Agārgya'- -', 'Pāṇini' could have used 'Gārgya-Gālavānāmeva' but in that case, according to *TB.* one may connect that 'Eva' with 'Udāttodayam' but it is undesired. Therefore, he has used two negatives. Besides this particular type of construction (with two negatives) he emphasises the opinions of both the sides and shows that both the groups are sticking to their opinion. It should further be noted that the option - indication by the sage - names does not depend upon the number of sages (mentioned in a rule) but it depends upon the implication of the rule.

'*Kāśikā*' 's comment[72] on this rule is important. '*Kāśikā*' explains the word 'Udāttodayaḥ' as 'Udāttaparaḥ' and further comments that instead of saying 'Udāttapara' , 'Pāṇini' has said 'Udāttodayam'. He wants to use the word 'Udaya' for 'Maṅgala' [73] and the mention of more than one 'Ācārya' is to pay respect to them. Keeping this point in mind 'Hannes Sköld' argues[74] that the '*Aṣṭādhyāyī*' actually ends with this rule. We have every reason to believe that 'Pāṇini's'

work originally finished with an auspicious word just as it begins with an auspicious word. The reference to the contrary opinions of 'Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava' also is an embroidery on the elaborate ground-works of 'Pāṇini'.

The last rule of the existent 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' text that is 'A A Iti' P.A.8.4.68. seems to be latter added. One reason for the statement is already given above. Secondly the word 'Iti', though is generally used as an auspicious word, in this rule it does not convey the 'Maṅgalārtha' but it is used as 'Pakṣavyāvartaka'. The 'Vivṛta a' is to be converted into 'Saṁvṛta a'. Thus, it can be said that somebody who found some difficulty in the utterance of 'Vivṛta a' at some places, found out the device to convert it into a 'Saṁvṛta a' and he added his opinion in a form of a rule and added it at the end. In the rule 'Naveti Vibhāṣā, Pāṇini' has used the word 'Iti' in the sense of 'Pakṣavyāvartana' only. However, 'Sköld' can be supported for his statement that the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' ends with the rule 'Nodātta - - -' P. A. 8.4.67.

19) 'Ṛto Bhāradvājasya' - P. A. 7.2.63

The rule teaches about the prohibition of the augment 'iṬ'. Kāśikā.[75] explains the rule as follows. It says that according to 'Bhāradvāja' the prohibition is for the roots which end in short 'ṛ' only; and this rule should be considered as an option to the two previous rules ( i.e. 'Acastāsvatthalyaniṭo Nityam' - P.A. 7.2.61 and 'Upadeśe ç tvataḥ' - P. A. 7.2.62).

The rule states that in the opinion of the sage 'Bhāradvāja' a root which ends in short 'ṛ' and after which the peri-future 'tās' is always devoid of the augment 'iṬ' that (also like 'tās' ) does not take the augment 'iṬ'.

The previous two rules prohibit the 'Iḍāgama' in two different conditons. The rule P. A. 7.2.61 prohibits 'Iḍāgama' before the roots which end in a vowel in the 'Dhātupāṭha' and which do not take the augment 'iṬ' before 'tās' ( the peri-future ). The rule P. A. 7.2.62 prohibits the 'Iḍāgama' to the roots which have short 'a' as

their root-vowel in the 'Dhātupāṭha', provided that these roots do not take 'iṬ' before 'tās'. But 'Bhāradvāja' states the prohibition of 'Iḍāgama' only for those roots which end in 'ṛ' and which are 'Aniṭ' before 'tās'. In fact, the rule P. A. 7.2.61 could have provided the sense which 'Bharadvāja' has implied still a new rule is formed to indicate the restrictive nature of the rule. That is why 'Kāśikā' says 'Siddhe Sati Ārambho Niyamārthaḥ'. The rule also indicates that in the opinion of 'Bhāradvāja' other roots (which do not end in 'ṛ' ) take the augment 'iṬ'. The previous two rules prohibit 'Iḍāgama' to all the roots in specific conditions while 'Bhāradvāja' prohibits 'Iḍāgama' only to the roots ending in 'ṛ'. That is why option comes in. Thus, here the name of the sage 'Bhāradvāja' indicates option. The examples will make the point clear.

Yā

| Yayātha | ('Acco. Acastāsvat' - - - P. A. 7.2.61) | 'Aniṭ' |
| Yayitha | ('Acco. Ṛto' - - - P. A. 7.2.63) | 'Seṭ' |

Pac

| Papaktha | ('Acco. Upadeśe Atvataḥ' P. A. 7.2.62) | 'Aniṭ' |
| Pechitha | ('Acco. Ṛto' - - - P. A. 7.2.63) | 'Seṭ' |

Śaklṛ

| Śaśaktha | ('Acco. Acastāsvat' - - - P. A. 7.2.61) | 'Aniṭ' |
| Śaśakatha | ('Acco. Upadeśe' - - - P. A. 7.2.62) | 'Aniṭ' |
| Śaśkatha | ('Acco. Ṛto Bhāradvājasya' P. A. 7.2.63) | 'Aniṭ' |

The root 'Śaklṛ' ends in 'Ṛ' therefore P.A.7.2.63 prohibits 'Iḍāgama' according to 'Bhāradvāja' P.A.7.2.62 also prohibits 'Iḍāgama', the root being 'Akāravān' and also P.A.7.2.61 prohibits 'Iḍāgama' as the root ends in a vowel. *Pradīpa and Udyota*.[76] note that the sage-name here, is option - indicative. 'Udyota' gives one more form. According to 'Bhāradvāja' the forms are 'Pecitha and Papitheta' while according to others 'Papaktha' and 'Papātheta'.

The 'Bhāradvāja Śikṣā'.[77] does not explain the point. The B.S. however cannot be said to deal with all the words of the 'Veda'. It

lays down empirical rules to distinguish and to employ the words of similar sound and form in their proper places. As a matter of fact *B.S.* closely follows the present redaction of the '*Ṭai.Saṁhitā.*' and its classification into Kāṇḍas, Praśnas and Anuvākas. Thus, the efforts to find any explanation of the rule 'Ṛto Bhāradvājasya' in this work are in vain.

20) 'Tṛṣimṛṣikṛṣeḥ Kāśyapasya' - P. A. 1.2.25 is to be studied here.

This rule deals with 'Kitva' position. The rule states that according to the opinion of the sage 'Kāśyapa' the 'Seṭ Ktvā' is optionally 'Kit' after the roots 'Tṛṣ, Mṛṣ and Kṛṣ'. '*Kāśikā*' comments[78] that purpose of this rule is to optionalise the 'Kitva' (for 'Set Ktvā' ) which is prohibited by the rule 'Na Ktvā Seṭ' P. A. 1.2.18. It further comments that the sage-name is to show respect for the option - indicative - term 'Vā' is already carried over from the previous rule 'Nopadhātthaphāntādvā' P. A. 1.1.23. *Vyā.MB.*, *Pradīpa and Udyota* agree on the point that here the sage name does not indicate option. *BM.* does not comment on the point but *TB.* gives the same opinion. Prof. Thieme.[79] has also mentioned this rule to prove his argument that sage-names do not indicate option. This rule is an exception to the rule 'Na Ktvā Seṭ' P.A.1.2.18. The rule 1.2.18 states 'Kitva-Niṣedha' as obligatory operation and thus follows the prohibition of 'Guṇa-Niṣedha' it means that the 'Guṇa' has become a compulsory - operation. Then, in the cases of the roots 'Tṛṣ, Mṛṣ and Kṛṣ if they are to be treated by the general rule 'Na Ktvā Seṭ' they will undergo the 'Guṇa'-operation and we have only one form of each as 'Tarṣitvā, Marṣitvā and Karṣitvā'. Now, the rule 'Tṛṣi - ' allows 'Kitva' option-ally, so in the 'kitva' position there will be 'Guṇaniṣedha' and we have forms like 'Tṛṣitvā, Mṛṣitvā and Kṛṣitvā'.

According to the maxim 'Utsargādapavādo Balīyān' the rule 'Tṛṣimṛṣi - - -' should supercede the general rule 'Na Ktvā Seṭ' but the word 'Vā' (which is carried over in the rule 'Tṛṣimṛṣi - - -') makes

it optional. Though *BM.* notes this rule as an exception to the general rule it cannot be called an 'Apavāda' in the true sense of the word. The rule under discussion, being an optional rule also allows the forms like 'Tarṣitvā' etc. which undergo the Guṇa operation and which are governed by the general rule. Thus, the 'Apavāda'-rule looses its strictness (that is to say the strength of debarring the general rule) completely and so cannot be called an 'Apavāda'.

Commenting on this rule V. P. Limaye quotes[80] the commentary by 'Bhavatrāta' on *JŚS*. (C.I.I.). It also states that the mention of the sages is to show respect to them.

An important rule, which is to the credit of 'Apiśali' is to be studied further and that is : -

21) 'Vā Supyāpiśaleḥ' P. A. 6.1.92.

The rule deals with the substitution by 'Vṛddhi'. It states that in the opinion of 'Āpiśali' the 'Vṛddhi' is optionally the single substitute when 'a' or 'ā' of a preposition is followed by a denominative verb beginning with 'ṛ'. 'Kāśikā' notes[81] that as the vowel 'ṛ' and 'ḷ' are homogeneous , the vowel 'ṛ' in the rule P.A.6.1.92 includes the vowel 'ḷ' also. The mention of 'Āpiśali' is to pay regards to him because the word 'Vā' is already used in the rule itself. P. Thieme.[82] has quoted this rule also to prove that sage-names do not indicate option.

See the denominative verb - 'Ṛṣabhamātmānamicchati Ityarthe'.

( Pra ) Ṛṣabha +   KyaC        ('Sup Ātmanaḥ Kyac' ) P.A. 3.1.8.

( Pra ) Ṛṣabha +   Ya

( Pra ) Ṛṣabha +   Ya   +   Ti

( Pra ) Ṛṣabha +   Ī   +   Ya +   Ti  ('Kyaci Ca' ) P. A. 7.4.33

( Pra ) Ṛṣabhīyati

Prārṣabhīyati        ('Vā Supyāpiśaleḥ' )              P. A. 6.1.92.

This rule being an optional one in the absense of 'Vṛddhi', 'Ād guṇaḥ' ( P. A. 6.1.87.) will claim and thus the form is 'Prarṣabhīyati'. So also the forms like 'Upālkarīyati' or 'Upalkarīyati' can be obtained.

Dr. Abhyankar's opinion[83] in this connection is noteworthy. According to him 'Āpiśali' was a great grammarian before 'Pāṇini'. 'Pāṇini' has mentioned 'Āpiśali's' name only for a single time. Generally 'Pāṇini' mentions the sage-name when there is difference of opinion between himself and the sage, who is mentioned. In the *Vyā.MB*. 'Āpiśali' is mentioned many times. After the *Vyā.MB.* also, the grammatical system, founder of which was 'Āpiśali', was prevalent and there were references to it in the *'Padamañjarī'* of Haradatta. In the commentry on the rule 'Manyakarmaṇyanādare' ( P. A. 2.3.17 ) his name is mentioned as 'Ityāpiśaliradhīte Sma'. So also the works like *Kāśikā*', '*Nyāsa*', *'Pradīpa (on Vyā.MB.)*', '*Tantra - pradīpa*', '*Dhātuvṛtti*', mention the rules from 'Āpiśali's' pen. These quotations are very much similar to the 'Pāṇinian' rules. The suffixes such as 'ṬaP', 'THaN', 'ŚaP' are used by 'Āpiśali' also. The 'Sārvadhātuka Saṃjñyā', the 'Pratyāhara Bhaṣ' are found in 'Āpiśali'. From all this data it is clear that 'Pāṇini' has received great help from the grammar of 'Āpiśali'. V. P. Limaye.[84] in his '*Critical Studies on the Mahābhāṣya*' quotes the chronological order of these grammarians as 'Āpiśali', 'Pāṇini', 'Vyāḍi' and then 'Gautama'. 'Āpiśali' is mentioned many times in *Vyā.MB.* but the following three references[85] are noteworthy.

a) I . 12 . 5 - 6. b) II . 205 . 20 - 30. c) II . 281 . 3 - 5.

At these places 'Āpiśali's' opinion is honoured by 'Patañjali'. Various commentaries also refer to the sage 'Āpiśali'.[86]

a)    'Bhartṛhdri' ( B.Hari.) in his '*Dīpikā*'. 11. 21 - 22.

b)    'Durgasimha' - in his '*Vṛtti' on 'Kātantra*' ( 1.2.1.)

c)    'Helārāja' - The commentator of '*Vākyapadīya*' has also mentioned his name. 'Maheśvara', 'Skandamaheśvara', 'Sāyaṇa' also refer[87] to him.

'Āpiśali' states that the roots 'Vah, Vyadh and Vṛdh' have no 'Bhaṣ - Bhāva'. 'Bhaṣ - Bhāva' means uttering the letters as-if they are in the 'Bhaṣ - Pratyāhara'. The question is, why the topic of 'Bhaṣ-Bhāva' is discussed. In Bengal, people generally pronounce 'Bakāra'

in the place of 'Vakāra'. Instead of saying 'Vastu' they say 'Bastu'. In the same way, at the time of 'Āpiśali' in his region and in the region of Bengal (as it was in ancient times) people, it seems were used to pronounce 'Bhaṣ - letters' except in the forms of the roots 'Vah, Vyadh and Vṛdh'. Thus, it can be inferred that he was from the eastern region i. e. the 'Vaṅgadeśa'.

22) 'I₃ Cākravarmaṇasya' P. A. 6.1.130.

A rule in which the sage 'Cākravarman' is mentioned, is to be studied now. The rule states that in the opinion of the sage 'Cākravarman' the 'Pluta i' is to be treated like non-'Pluta i', when it is followed by a vowel. This option is taken as 'Ubhayavibhāṣā' type of option by 'Kāśikā'.[88] When this 'Pluta i' is followed by 'Iti' (the non-ṛṣi word) it is regarded as non-pluta by the rule 'Aplutavadupasthite' (P.A.6.1.129.) In such a case this rule 'i₃ Cākravarmaṇasya' is a 'Prāptavibhāṣā' but in other cases (when pluta 'i' is followed by a vowel beginning word other than 'Iti', it is 'Aprāptavibhāṣā' ) and thus it is to be called 'Prāptāprāptavibhāṣā or Ubhayatravibhāṣā'.

The name of this teacher being a patronymic (son of Cakravarman) (or his descendent) is again met with in the 'Uṇādi sūtra'. 3 . 143 - 144.

'Kvaṇeḥ Saṁprasāraṇam Ca Kapaścākravarmaṇasya'.

'Ujvaladatta' the commentator of 'Uṇādisūtra' explains -

'- - - Kvaṇatereva Cākravarmaṇasyācāryasya Matena Kapa-pratyayaḥ Saṁprasāraṇamca Kuṇapaḥ Sa Eva Svare Tu Viśeṣaḥ'.

. The name of the sage indicates option. It shows that according to Cākravarman only 'Pulta īkāra' is to be treated like 'Apluta' when it is followed by 'Iti' and other sages do not support this opinion. Thus, we have two forms as 'Cinuhi Idam or Cinuhī ₃ Idam' so also 'Astu Hītyabravīt or Astu Hī ₃ Ityabravīt'.

23) 'Oto Gārgyasya' - P. A. 8.3.20.

This rule was earlier referred to. It is to be studied in details. The rule teaches the elision of 'y' in certain conditions. It states that

according to the opinion of the sage 'Gārgya', 'y' which is preceded by 'o' is elided before an 'aś' letter. 'Kāśikā' notes [89] that this rule is presented to show that the elision is obligatory. The name of 'Gārgya' is to show respect to him. This 'y' is elided optionally by the rule 'Lopaḥ Śākalyasya' thus this rule declares the elision to be obligatory. Still the lighter articulation of 'y' is allowed; so actually three forms are obtained -

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bho Atra | | |
| Bhoy Atra | ('Bhobhago' - - - P. A. 8.3.17.) | |
| Bhoyatra | ( non-elision) | 'Śākalya' |
| Bho Atra | ( elision) | |
| Bhoyatra | - lighter articulation - | 'Śākaṭāyana' |
| Bho atra | - elision (obligatory) - | 'Gārgya'. |

Though 'Kāśikā' says that the name of 'Gārgya' is to show respect, one cannot agree with this opinion. The name indicates option no doubt. Though 'Gārgya' has stated this elision to be obligatory, for the students of grammar the rule as an optional one being an opinion of a sage. When one is familiar with other rules 'Lopaḥ Śākalyasya or Vyorlaghuprayatnataraḥ Śākṭāyanasya', one has to admit the optional application of the rule.

24) 'Girśca Senakasya'. P. A. 5.4.112.

The rule teaches something about the compound - ending. It ordains the augment 'ṬaC' to 'Avyayībhāva' - compound ending in the word 'Giri' in the opinion of the sage 'Senaka'. Thus, the following forms are obtained -

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Upagiram | ( with 'ṬaC' ) | - according to 'Senaka'. |
| Upagiri | ( without 'ṬaC' ) | - general form. |

*BM.* notes [90] that the sage-name is to show respect and the option is already indicated by the word 'Anyatarasyām' which is carried over from the rule P. A. 5.4.109.

The two rules which employ the word 'Sarveṣām' are to be studied here. These two rules have two different context.

25) 'Adaḥ Sarveṣām' - P. A. 7.3.100.

The rule teaches about the 'Aḍāgama' to the root 'Ad'. The rule states that after the root 'Ad' the augment 'aṬ' comes before a 'Sārvadhātuka' affix, consisting of a single consonant according to the opinion of all the grammarians. In this case, the previous rule is to be taken into consideration. The rule 'Aṭ Gārgyagālavayoḥ' - P. A. 7.3.99. which precedes this rule enjoins the augment 'aṬ' for five roots i.e. 'Rud, Svap, Śvas, An and Jakṣ'. In the case of these five roots 'aṬ' comes according to the opinion of 'Gārgya and Gālava' only, but in the case of the root 'Ad', 'aṬ' comes according to the opinion of all sages. That is to say, to stop the 'Anuvṛtti' of the word 'Gārgyagālavayoḥ' the word 'Sarveṣām' is used. The 'Śapluk' (elision of the 'Śapvikaraṇa' - this 'Śap' is stated by 'Kartari Śap'), is the sign of second conjugation. ( cf. - 'Adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ Śapaḥ' - P. A. 2.4.72). To get that 'Akāra' again which is elided by P.A.2.4.72. a device is found out and that is the addition of the augment 'aṬ' by 'Adaḥ Sarveṣām' ( P. A. 7.3.100).

26) 'Hali Sarveṣām' ( P. A. 8.3.22 )

The rule presents the similar case. The two preceding rules are important for the study of this rule. 1) 'Vyorlaghuprayatnataraḥ Śākaṭāyanasya' - ( P.A.8.3.18.) 2) 'Oto Gārgayasya' - ( P.A.8.3.20 ). Both the rules deal either with the elision of 'Yakāravakāra' or with the soft utterance. The rule 'Hali Sarveṣām' states the elision of 'Yakāra' preceded by 'Bho, Bhago, Agho' or by 'A, or Ā', being final of the 'Pada' before a consonant, according to the opinion of all teachers. The rules P.A.8.3.18 and P.A.8.3.20 are already discussed before. The rule P.A.8.3.22 shows that the scope of 'Yakāra'-elision is wider than the 'Vakāra'-elision ( when 'Yakāra and Vakāra' are at the end of the 'Pada' ). Earlier, the opinions of different sages are recorded. To cancel them in the specific condition as 'Hali' the word 'Sarveṣām' is used. This word indicates that even the rule P.A.8.3.18 ('Vyorlaghu'- ) does not apply and there is no lighter articulation but elision of 'Yakāra and Vakāra' is obligatory. If the

word'Sarveṣām' is dropped then the'Anuvṛtti' of sage - names will claim and cause undesired condition.'*Kāśikā*' explains [91] the point briefly.

It may be considered that why the idea of dropping 'y' or 'v' has come in. When this'y' or'v' come at the end of the 'Pada' and are followed by a consonant for example -'Bhagoy Hasati', this'y' becomes difficult to pronounce as there is no support of a vowel for 'y' to get pronounced but when it is followed by a vowel as'Bhagoy Atra' it gets support from the vowel'A' and one can have complete 'Ya' to pronounce which is easy. Knowing this difficulty that the 'Yakāra' cannot be merged, all the sages allowed the elision of'y' before a consonant.

The rules which employ the word'*ekeṣām*' are three in number. The word'Sarveṣām', as is  discussed earlier, notes the opinions of all sages and thus does not indicate option but the word 'Ekeṣām' as it notes the opinion of some sages only, it causes optional application of the rules.

27) 'Yajuṣyekeṣām'- P. A. 8.3.104.

The rule states that the's' is changed to'ṣ' before the 't' of 'Tvam' etc. and before'Tad' and 'Tatakṣuḥ' in the'*Yajurveda*'. The word'Ekeṣām' in this rule suggests that some sages only support this change and some do not. That is why the rule is option - indicative rule; but the rules employing the word'Sarveṣām' note the unanimous opinion of all sages and thus are of general category.

The rule teaches retroflexion, thus two forms ( optional to each other ) are found as'Agnistat' [92] or 'Agniṣṭat', so also there are forms like'Arcibhiṣṭvam and Agniste ç gram'.

28) 'Stutasomayośchandasi' - P. A. 8.3.105.

The's' of 'Stuta' and 'Soma' in the'Chandas' is changed into'ṣ' in the opinion of some. ( the word'Ekeṣām' is carried over from the previous rule) - Optional forms are found[93] as - 'Tribhiṣṭutasya or Tribhistutasya' so also 'Goṣṭomam or Gostomam'.

29) 'Pūrvapadāt' - P. A. 8.3.106 ('Chandasi Ekeṣām' ).

In the 'Chandas', according to some 's' is changed into 'ṣ' when it stands in the beginning of a second word preceded by a word ending in 'I' etc. Thus, we have 'Dvisandhi or Dviṣandhi' so also 'Madhusthānam or Madhuṣthānam'.

Here is the summary of the study of 29 rules. 'Pāṇini' notes only those cases where he differs from the other sages. He differs only in the cases of 'Sandhi, *doubling, augment, accent,* and Guṇa' but there is no difference about the affixes or 'Dhātusādhita ' or Nāma-sādhita '. There are eighteen rules which show this difference. Eight rules out of these, note the difference about the 'Sandhi' and they are as follows - P.A.1.1.16, 6.1.92, 6.1.123, 6.1.127, 6.1.130, 8.3.18, 8.3.19, 8.3.20. Dr. Abhyankara[94] has some observations on this topic. The utterance of two non-homogeneous vowels by insertion of an 'Antaḥstha Varṇa' was the tradition in some regions. The 'Sanskrit' language, spoken at that time, also, had adopted this method. The same was continued in the 'Prakrita' languages which were different from the regional Sanskrit language. In the 'Ardhamāgadhī', 'Yakāra' is inserted between the two vowels while in the 'Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛta' this 'Yakāra' is not seen. Thus, generally, it can be inferred that 'Śākaṭāyana and Sphoṭāyana' as they were pronouncing the 'Yakāra' were living at the eastern region and the sage 'Gārgya and Śākalya' were living at the northern region (as they did not pronounce the 'Yakāra' ) while in 'Pāṇini's' region both the traditions were prevalent.

The two rules note the difference in the opinion about doubling. The peculiarity about pronounciation has caused it. Before a conjunct consonant, a vowel gets stress and if that vowel is short it is pronounced as if it is long naturally, but the number of conjunct consonants however does not affect either stressing or lengthening. For example, there will be no difference in pronouncing the word 'Putra' or 'Puttra'. Thus, the tradition of doubling, which was preva-lent in some regions was noted by 'Pāṇini'. Therefore, it can be in-

ferred that in 'Śākaṭāyana's' eastern region there was the tradition of trippling the consonants while in 'Śākalya's' northern region it was not so.( cf. P. A. 8.4.50 / 8.4.51).

The other cases of difference are of less importance. The optional application of 'Iḍāgama' (P.A.1.2.25), shortening (P.A. 6.3.61), 'Svaritoccāraṇa' ( P. A. 8.4.67) are the other points of difference. The different forms according to different sages show that these are regional differences, so it is probable that these grammarians have written the grammar of the Sanskrit language which was prevalent in their regions. Dr. Abhyankara[95] infers that 'Kātyāyana' though he was a southerner, he was not living in the South exactly but as compared to 'Pāṇini's' place he lived in the Southern direction i.e. the 'Mālavadeśa'. According to Dr. Abhyankara, 'Śākaṭāyana and Gārgya' were contemporary. 'Gārgya' has prepared the 'Padapāṭha' of the 'Sāmaveda'. There is difference between the 'Padapāṭha' of the 'Ṛgveda' by 'Śākalya' and the 'Padapāṭha' of the 'Sāmaveda' by 'Gārgya'. In the 'Ṛgveda-padapāṭha' the 'Pada s' like 'Sūryasya, Sakhye' are not given separately ( i.e. 'Sūrya + Ṅs or Sakhi + Ṅe' ) because these two 'Pada s' ( the stem and the suffix) do not present the meaning separately; but 'Gārgya' has given them separately. The sage 'Śākalya, Kāśyapa and Bhāradvāja', as they were contemporary to 'Gārgya and Śākaṭāyana', are mentioned in the 'Prātiśākhya s'. 'Kāśyapa' is mentioned twice by 'Pāṇini' and 'Bhāradvāja' is mentioned for a single time. (P.A.1.2.25, 8.4.67 and 7.2.63 respectively ). The sages 'Gālava, Cākravarman, Senaka and Sphoṭāyana' are not mentioned in the 'ptk'.s but are referred to by 'Pāṇini'. The sage 'Gālava' is referred to for four times ( at  P. A. 8.4.67, 7.3.99, 6.3.61 and 7.1.54.) while others are mentioned for a single time. ( 6.1.128, 5.4.112 and 6.1.121 respectively).

Here ends the discussion of the rules having the name of some authority. As a conclusion it can be said that sage-names are used to show respect no doubt but, in some cases they indicate the lowest degree of option. As it is noted before, the names as they present the

opinion of a particular sage and not the rule in general, indicate option. The cases like  P.A.6.1.92 where the primary option - indicative - term is used the capacity of the sage-name to indicate option fades: Same is the case where some option - indicative - term is carried on ( P. A. 1.2.25, 4.1.160, 5.3.94 ). But, the question of option-indicative-capacity of the sage-name arises only when there is no other option-indicative-word like 'Vā or Vibhāṣā or Bahulam'. In those cases the names indicate the minor degree of option. Here follows the study of some rules which employ the region-names.

# 'Region - Names'

a) Introduction.

b) Rulewise study.

Here begins the second half of this chapter which informs us about the rules which employ the words like 'Prācām or Udīcām' etc. At the time of 'Pāṇini' and even before his time, the language from the Northern part of India was the standard language and it was also a known fact that people used to go to the Northern countries to learn the language. The 'Śaṁkhāyana Brāhmaṇa'[96] notes that in the Northern direction the language was of the highest level. People were not only eager to go to the Northern direction to learn the language but were also eager to hear the person who had come from that direction. 'Pāṇini's' birth-place and the place of studies, both were in the Northern direction. He was from Śalātura' and he studied at 'Takṣaśilā' as the tradition has noted. This point should be taken note of while studying the geography of 'Udīc and Prāc' regions. The Northern part of 'Irāvatī' (i.e. 'Rāvī' ) was called the 'Uttarprānta'. The author of 'Kāśikā' quotes [97] a verse in which it is said that the river 'Irāvatī' divides the two regions, the Northern and the Eastern. The 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa' [98] and the 'Gopatha Brāhmaṇa' refer to the geography of the ancient India. It cannot be said that the map of ancient India was exactly the same at the time of those 'Brāhmaṇa s' and at time of 'Pāṇini' but we can have at least some idea of the 'Udīc and Prāc' directions and the regions therein. Sāyaṇa's comment on the AB. is more important. He says that the middle region was called the 'Madhyapradeśa' and that was steady as compared to the other regions (as Eastern or Northern) 'Madhyapradeśa' was the abode of the vedic people. With reference to this region the directions 'Udīc and Prāc' are settled. 'Kosala, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha' were Eastern regions while 'Gāndhāra' was the Northern region. 'Gopatha Brāhmaṇa' gives [99] the names of a number of regions in which 'Kurupañcāla, Kāśikauśala, Śālvamatsya and Uśīnara' are included.

While studying these rules Dr.Abhyankara has made some important observations. He remarks that the grammarians from the North have written grammar to unfold the proper meaning of the language; thus they thought over the relationship between the words in a sentence, the stem and suffixes, the pronounciation and the change in meaning, with the change in pronounciation. Thus, the Northern grammarians wrote according to these norms. On the contrary, the Eastern grammarians were engaged in finding out the etymological explanations of the words; thus they thought over the apparent forms of the words. They classified words into four classes - 'Nāma, Ākhyāta, Upasarga and Nipāta'. These four groups which were already known to 'Yāska' [100]

Dr. Abhyankara. further states that according to the above noted tendencies, 'Vyādi, Śakalya and Pāṇini' are Northern grammarians and 'Śākaṭāyana, Gārgya, Kāśyapa, Gālava, Āpiśali, Bhāradvāja, Sphoṭāyana, Senaka and Bhāguri' are the Eastern grammarians.

Rules, referring to the region-names indicate the peculiarities of the grammatical system of that particular region. A system which is agreed and followed by a region, includes the opinions of various grammarians. These region-names indicate regional differences. Probably, all these sages have written the grammar of their own regional language and when 'Pāṇini' has written grammar of the entire Sanskrit language, he has marked those places where he differed from those sages or the regional tendencies and has tried to make a perfect grammatical system.

A question may be asked, if at all the sage-names are used to note the regional differences, why he has used the words like 'Prāc and Udīc'. The answer to this question is as follows. 'Pāṇini' probably thinks that the credit of observing some tendencies should go to the proper person. The rules in which the name of some authority is given are the observations of those sages which are taken from the grammatical treatises of those sages, while the rules having
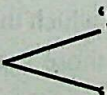
region-names in them are 'Pāṇini's' own observations. The opinions of sages are collected from the study of the grammatical texts while the rules having regional names are formed by observing the tendencies of spoken Sanskrit at 'Pāṇini's' time. To show this difference he has used sage-names and region-names separately.

The rules using region-names are of two types; one in which the name of the direction (in general) is used and the other, in which name of a particular region is used. The name of a particular region does not indicate option at all. The rules using directions-name are again of two types, one indicating option by name and the other paying respect to that region by that name. Some important rules from each group are to be studied -

⠀⠀(1) The rules in which the word suggestive of the direction, indicates option, are as follows -

⠀⠀⠀30) 'Śoṇāt prācām' - ( P. A. 4.1.43)

The rule teaches the affix 'ṄĪṢ' to the word 'Śoṇa'. It states that, in the feminine, the affix 'ṄĪṢ' is added to the word 'Śoṇa', according to the opinion of the Eastern grammarians. The word 'Prācām' in this rule, referes to the Eastern grammarians and as it notes the opinion of those sages it indicates option. The BM.[101] clears the point. The previous rule 'Anyato ṄĪṢ' states obligatory 'ṄĪṢ' for the feminine form, but the purpose of the rule 'Śoṇāt Prācām' is to optionalise that 'ṄĪṢ'. Generally, the word 'Śoṇa' would have taken the affix 'ṬāP' for its feminine form by the rule 'Ajādyataṣṭāp' ( P. A. 4.1.4.) and the form would have been 'Śoṇā'; but the point is that the Eastern Grammarians use the affix 'ṄĪṢ' instead of 'ṬāP'. As the other sages have indicated the affix 'ṬāP', this rule gets an optional application. A point may be noted here that the Easternes will not use the form 'Śoṇā' but 'Śoṇī' only, while we have both the alternatives to use.

⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀'Śoṇī' - Eastern usage

Śoṇa (masc.); in (femi) ⟨

⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀⠀'Śoṇā' - General usage.

It clears the point that the word 'Prācām' indicates option in this rule because the words 'Ācāryāṇām Matena' are taken for granted.

31) 'Mātarapitarāvudīcām' - P. A. 6.3.32.

In the opinion of the Northern grammarians the word 'Mātṛ' has the augment 'araN' and thus the form 'Mātarapitarau' is valid. 'Kāśikā'[102] comments - 'Mātarapitarāvityudīcām Ācāryāṇām Matena Araṇādeśo Mātṛśabdasya Nipātyate'. Thus, the Northern form is 'Mātarapitarau'.

$$\text{Mātṛpitṛ} \begin{cases} \text{'Mātāpitarau' - General} \\ \text{'Mātarapitarau' - Northern} \end{cases}$$

In this rule, as the directive word 'Udīcām' refers to the Northern grammarians, it indicates option.

The 'Dvandva'-compound as 'Mātarapitarau' is not attested anywhere in the Vedic literature which is observed by 'Pāṇini' as a dialectical peculiarity of the Northern people, but the forms 'Mātarāpitarā'[103] and 'Mātāpitarau'[104] are found in vedic literature. ( These two words show a compounded - form while we have 'Pitarā Mātarā' [105] separately in a single verse also). The place of these two words, (in a compounded form) varies even in 'Pāṇini'-(cf. 'Mātarapitarāvudīcām' P.A.6.3.32 and 'Pitarāmātarā Ca Chandasi' P.A.6.3.33).

*Vyā.MB.* on P.A.6.3.32-33 says, 'Kim Nipātyate Pūrvapadottarapadayoḥ Ṛkārasya Arārau Mātarapitarau (nominative) Bhojayataḥ and Mātarapitarau (accusative) Ānaya'.

The point of 'Ekapadatva or Bhinnapadatva' is discussed by 'Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa' while V. P. Limaye.[106] comments that it would be pertinent to observe that 'Ca' after 'Pitarāmātarā' points to 'Padaccheda' rather than to 'Aikpadya'. Thus, the rule P.A.6.3.33 should be written as 'Pitarā Mātarā Ca Cchandasi' (instead of 'Pitarāmātarā Ca Cchandasi' ).

32) 'Udīcām Ātaḥsthāne Yakapūrvāyaḥ' - P. A. 7.3.46.

The rule teaches substitution. It states that, 'i' is to be substi-

tuted for that 'a' which is obtained by shortening the long 'ā' of the feminine (under the rule 'Ke ṣ ṇaḥ' ) which is preceded by a 'y' or a 'k', in the opinion of Northern grammarians.

The word 'Yakapūrvāyaḥ' is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the feminine affix 'ā' is shortened to 'a', so the forms are : -
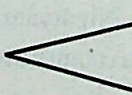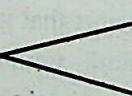
Ibhyakā        -     Non -        Northern (general)

Ibhiyakā       -     Northern

so also 'Caṭakakā' (general) and 'Caṭakikā' (Northern). 'Kāśikā' [107] notes that the word 'Udīcām' indicates option.

33) 'Bhasraiṣājājñādvāsvānañpūrvaṇāmapi' - P. A. 7.3.47.

This rule ordains prohibition of the substitution which is stated by the previous rule. As the substitution is stated according to the opinion of the Northern grammarians the prohibition is also limited to their opinion only. This rule states that, according to the opinion of the Northern grammarians, 'i' is not substituted for that 'a' which is obtained by shortening 'ā' (before 'Ka' by 'Ke ṣ ṇaḥ' - P. A. 7.3.13) of 'Bhasrā, Eṣā, Ajā, Jñā, Dvā and Svā', even not then when the negative particle precedes them. That is to say, the prohibition of 'itva' takes place with a negative particle and even without a negative particle. As the word 'Udīcām' indicates option, two forms i. e. with 'itva' and without 'itva' are obtained.

Bhasrā
- 'Bhasrakā'  - Northern
- 'Bhasrika'  - General

Abhasrā
- 'Abhasrakā'  - Northern
- 'Abhasrika'  - General

The previous rule and this rule are connected with each other. As the previous rule, being an opinion of the Northern grammarians, is an option - indicative - rule, this rule also ordaining exception to that rule, is an option - indicative one. 'Kāśikā' has no important comment on this rule.

34) 'Prācām Ṣpha Taddhitaḥ' ('Yañaḥ Striyām') - P. A. 4.1.17

The rule occurs in the 'Taddhita-section' where the gotra-affixes are taught. This rule ordains the affix 'ṢPHA' ('Āyana') in the feminine form of a word ending with the affix 'yañ'. The rule states that, in the opinion of the Eastern grammarians, the affix 'ṢPHA' ('Āyana') is added after what ends in the affix 'Yañ' and it is to be regarded as a 'Taddhita'-affix. The affix 'ṢPHA' is added to form the feminine -form of the word.

The 'Ṣ' in the affix 'ṢPHA' is an indicatory letter and shows that the words, formed with this affix will take 'ŃĪṢ' (by 4.1.41). The two affixes here (i. e. 'ṢPHA and ŃĪṢ') manifest the feminine nature jointly. As the affix 'ṢPHA' is regarded as a 'Taddhita'- affix, the word formed by that affix gets the 'Prātipadika' - designation (by 'Kṛttaddhitasamāsāśca'. P. A. 1.2.46). The affix 'ṢPHA' gets replaced by 'Āyana' (7.1.2) and thus the form is 'Gārgyāyaṇī' - from the word 'Gārgya'.

The word 'Gārgya' is formed out the word 'Garga' with the affix 'Yañ' ( cf. 'Gargādibhyo Yañ' P. A. 4.1.105).and the base is 'Gārgya'. So, 'Gārgya + ṢPHA + ŃĪṢ'.

'Gārgya + Āyana + ī - Gargyāyaṇī ( Raṣābhyām - - ). The form 'Gargyāyaṇī' is a Eastern form while the Northern form is 'Gārgī'.

Vasu notes[108] that the word 'Sarvatra' in the next rule (i.e. 'Sarvatra Lohitādikatantebhyaḥ' P.A.4.1.18.) is to be read in this rule by a process inverse to that of 'Anuvṛtti', in order to prohibit the application of those rules which would otherwise debar this rule. Thus, P. A. 4.1.75 says the affix 'CaP' comes after the word 'Āvatya'. The word 'Āvatya' ends in 'YaÑ' and by P. A. 4.1.16 it would have taken the affix 'ŃīP'. The rule P. A. 4.1.75 has debarred 'ŃīP'; but according to the Eastern grammarians the affix 'ṢPHA' ('Āyana') will be added, then by P. A. 4.1.41 the form is 'Āvatyāyanī'.

35) 'Āragudīcām' - P. A. 4.1.130 ('Godhāyaḥ') is to be discussed here.

The rule states that the affix 'Ārak' comes in the sense of a descendent after the word 'Godhā' in the opinion of Northern grammarians. Thus, we have the form 'Gaudhāraḥ'. As the word 'Godhā' ends in the long 'ā', the 'ā' of the affix 'Ārak' is unnecessary because without that 'ā' also one can obtain the form 'Gaudhāraḥ', but the affix is cited for such other words which do not end in long 'ā' but to which this affix is to be added. For example, the word 'Jaḍa' or 'Paṇḍa' also take this affix then we have 'Jāḍāraḥ' and 'Pāṇḍāraḥ'. Thus, 'Vasu' [109] comments 'Rakaḥ Siddhe Ākārocchāraṇamanyato Vidhānārtham'. The word 'Udīcām' optionalises the previous rule (i.e. P.A.4.1.129 'Godhāyāḥ Ḍhrak'). 'Kāśikā' [110] comments 'Āragvacanamanarthakam Rakā Siddhatvāt Jñāpakam Tvayamanye-bhyo ç pi Bhavati Iti'. According to 'Kāśikā' the mention of the Northern sages is to respect only but it is to be noted that showing respect is not the only purpose, in addition to that to note the Northern tendency and to allow the option thereby is the real purpose.

36) 'Udīcām Iñ' ( P. A. 4.1.153)

This rule ordains an affix in the sense of a descendent. According to the opinion of the Northern grammarians, the affix 'iÑ' comes in the sense of a descendent after the words ending in 'Senā', the word 'Lakṣaṇa' and the words expressing artisans. Thus, the forms are 'Lākṣaṇiḥ, Kaumbhakāriḥ' etc; but in the case of the word 'Nāpita' being a 'Vṛddha', non-gotra word, will take 'PHIÑ' under the rule P.A.4.1.157 i.e. 'Udīcām Vṛddhādagotrāt' and we have the form 'Nāpitāyaṇiḥ'. The rule P.A.4.1.157 being a subsequent rule supercedes the rule P.A.4.1.153 (i. e. the rule under discussion) and thus the affix 'Iñ' cannot be applied to the word 'Nāpita' and the form as 'Nāpitiḥ' cann't be obtained.

So also the word 'Takṣan' as it comes under the 'Śivādi' class, takes the affix 'aÑ' and we have the form 'Tākṣṇaḥ'. This form is valid by the rule 'Śivādibhyo ç ṇ' P.A.4.1.112. This rule however does not prevent the rule P.A. 4.1.152 which ordains the suffix 'Nya' and we have the form 'Tākṣṇyaḥ' also ( cf. 'Kurvādibhyo Ṇyaḥ' - P.A. 4.1.152).

·· Thus, we have two forms like,

| Kaumbhakāriḥ | - Northern - ('iṄ' | - P.A. 4.1.153) |
|---|---|---|
| Kaumbhakāryaḥ | - General - ('Ṇya' | - P.A.1.152) |
| Nāpityaḥ | - General - ('Ṇya' | - P.A.1.152) |
| Nāpitāyaniḥ | - Northern - ('PHIṄ' | - P.A.4.1.157) |

'*Kāśikā*' [111] on this rule comments that the very injunction includes another suffix and the mention of the Northern sages is for the sake of variety. The very word 'Vaicitrya' hints at the concept of option and thus it can safely be said that this rule indicates option.

37) '*Kuṣirañjoḥ prācām Śyan Parasmaipadam Ca*' P.A.3.1.90.

The rule deals with the reflexive voice-affix. It states that the affix 'ŚyaN' comes after the roots 'Kuṣ', " To pull " and 'Rañj', "to colour", in the reflexive voice according to the opinion of the Eastern grammarians and these verbs take the affixes of the 'Parasmaipada'. Thus, the forms are 'Kuṣyati' and 'Rajyati' (with 'ŚyaN and Parasmaipada'. ). The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern grammarian' shows that the rule has optional application. [112] In the alternative 'YAK' can also be used by the rule 'Sārvadhātuke Yak' P.A.3.1.67 and 'Ātmanepada' terminations by 'Bhāvakar maṇoḥ' ( P.A. 1.3.13) and thus the forms are 'Kuṣyate and Rajyate'. In short, the optional application of the rule leads us to two forms as-

| Kuṣyati | - Eastern | Rajyati | - Eastern |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuṣyate | - General | Rajyate | - General |

According to '*Kāśikā*' [113] this rule comes under the 'Vyavasthitavibhāṣā' group, thus the affix 'ŚyaN' is not to be affixed to the 'Liṅ and Liṭ' thus we have the forms like 'Cukuṣe or Rarañje' and not as 'Cukuṣye or Rarañjye'.

Generally, a restricted option is not denoted by a sage-name or region-name but by some primary option - indicative as 'Vā or Vibhāṣā' but here it is denoted by a minor option - indicative. It elevates the status of the word 'Prācām'.

38) 'Vākinādīnām Kuk Ca' - P. A. 4.1.158

The rule deals with the patronymic affix. It states that the augment 'k' (kUK) is added to the words like 'Vākina' etc. When the patronymic affix 'PHIÑ' follows. The 'Anuvṛtti' of the word 'Udīcām' is to be understood in this rule (from the previous rule 'Udīcām Vṛddhādagotrāt' (P. A. 4.1.157). This aphorism then becomes an optional rule and we have the application of 'Ata Iñ'. Thus, the two forms are obtained.

'Vākinakāyaniḥ'

('Vākina + kuk + phiñ' - 4.1.158)        Northern.

Vākina

'Vākiniḥ' ('Vākina + iñ' - 4.1.95)        General.

If we take the affix 'kUK' to be optional then it derives one more form in the absense of the additional affix 'kUK' and that is 'Vākināyaniḥ'.

'Kāśikā' [114] notes a point. In the case of the words in the list beginning with 'Vākina' which are 'Vṛddha' words, the rule ordains the augment 'kUK' only but for other words in the list it ordains 'kUK' as well as 'PHIÑ'. The word 'Ca' in the rule itself carries the affix 'PHIÑ' which is ordained by the rule 'Udīcām Vṛddhādagotrāt' (P. A. 4.1.157).

39) 'Udīcām Māno Vyatīhāre' P. A. 3.4.19.

An important rule is to be studied now. The rule deals with the root 'Men' particularly. It states that according to the opinion of the Northern grammarians the affix 'Ktvā' is added to the root 'Men' (to exchange) when the sense is that of interchange though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the later word.

The present rule is an exception to the general rule 'Samāna-kartṛkayoḥ Pūrvakāle' - P. A. 3.4.21. This rule teaches that when the two actions have one and the same agent the affix 'Ktvā' comes for that verb the action denoted by which takes place earlier than the other action (that is to say, 'Ktvā' referers to the previous action) so

we have a sentence like 'Snātvā Vrajati', he bathes and then goes. Such being the case, there comes a restriction on the use of 'Ktvā' with root 'Meṅ'. For example - 'Yācitvā Apamayate' he begs and then exchanges but 'Apamitya Yācate' - he first exchanges and then begs. The sense will differ according to the 'Ktvā'-suffix. But, what the rule 'Udīcām māno' - - teaches is, without any change in meaning one can use in both ways to express the same meaning only in the case of the root 'Meṅ', so we have two sentences as; 'Yācitvā Apamayate' and 'Apamitya yācate'.

This indicates that the word 'Udīcām' in this rule indicates option. It also points out the difference between the general tendency denoted by 'Samānakartṛkayoḥ Pūrvakāle' and the Northern tendency denoted by the rule 'Udīcām Māno Vyatīhāre', though only in the case of a particular root. *BM.*[115] points out that because of the word 'Udīcām' we have 'Ktvā' to the root 'Yāc'. One important point is to be noted here. The word 'Udīcām' does not indicate option between the two forms of the same verb, one with 'Ktvā' and one without 'Ktvā', but it optionalises 'Ktvā' either to root 'Meṅ' (by 'Udīcām Māno' )or to the other root (here) 'yāc' by 'Samāna-kartṛkayoḥ - - '. When 'Ktvā' is taught for 'meṅ' by the special rule, without its optional application we cannot have 'Ktvā' to the root 'Yāc' - thus the word 'Udīcām' in this rule indicates option. '*Kāśikā*'[116] also supports the point by saying that, because of the word 'Udīcām', 'Yācitvā Apamayate' which is a general construction by 'Samānakartṛkayoḥ-' can be obtained.

Further, an important rule, which notes the tendency of the Eastern grammarians is to be discussed and that is :-

40) 'Alamkhalvoḥ Pratiṣedhayoḥ Prācām Ktvā' - P. A. 3.4.18.

The rule P. A. 3.4.19 was restricted for the root 'Meṅ' only and was presenting the opinion of the Northern grammarians while this rule has presented the opinion of the Eastern grammarians and is restricted to the indeclinables 'Alam and Khalu' (both are the indeclinables) in the sense of prohibition.

The rule teaches that in the opinion of the Eastern grammarians, the affix 'Ktva' comes after a verb, when the words 'Alam and Khalu' are in combination with it. The rule P. A. 3.5.21 ('Samāna-kartṛkayoḥ Pūrvakāle') states that the use of 'Ktvā' is to denote previous action when the two actions have one and the same agent (and when the two actions have taken place after one another). For example, - 'Pītvā Gacchati' a person first drinks water and then goes (both actions by the same person). Here 'Ktvā' is used to indicate that the action of drinking has taken place first. Now, the two rules in question, i.e. 'Alamkhalvoḥ' and 'Udīcām Maṇo' (P.A.3.4.18-19 respectively) also enjoin 'Ktvā', though there is no denotation of the previous action. 'Ktvā' is there to indicate prohibition with 'alam' and 'Khalu' and in the other rule 'Ktvā' is there when the root 'Meṅ' has the sense of "exchange". In these two cases 'Pūrvakālakatva' is not expected. Thus, according to the rule P. A. 3.4.18, the forms are 'Alam Pītvā or Khalu pītvā'. As the word 'Prācām' indicates option, the case-termination can also be applied and thus 'Alam Pānena and Khalu pānena' can be used.

The rule P.A.3.4.18 has employed the word 'Prācām' and the rule P.A.3.4.19 uses the word 'Udīcām'. 'Patañjali' however, does not comment on these two words. *BM*.[117] notes a point. One may doubt that the word 'Udīcām' in the next rule (P.A.3.4.19) makes the previous rule obligatory and thus the word 'Prācām' is redundant. To this, BM. answers that the word 'Prācām' is to pay respect. *TB*.[118] comments on this point in the similar way *TB*. also notes that to explain these optional forms the rule 'Vā ç sarūpo ç striyām' (P.A.3.1.94) is sufficient. This would indicate that *TB*. also accepts that the word 'Prācām' is used to show respect. In this way both the commentaries agree on this point.

'Pāṇini's' intention was to explain the current word-forms in the language. He had to frame the rules which would explain the local forms as well as the foreign forms. The rules like 'Alamkhalvoḥ' and 'Udīcām Maṇo' may not be optional according to 'Pāṇini' but

for the student of Sanskrit grammar in general, these rules can be considered as option - indicatives. It seems that all the usages of 'Ktvā' in 'Pāṇini's' own region were explained by the rules like 'Samānakartṛkayoḥ Pūrvakāle' etc. but he has to frame the rules like P.A. 3.4.18-19, to note the peculiarity of that region. These rules though indicate option, are supplimentary to his rules. These rules are more or less of the type of 'Nityānuvāda' [119] rules.

'Pāṇini' has no hesitation even if somebody uses 'Ktvā' with 'Alam and Khalu' or with the root 'meṅ' but he has critically noted that such word-forms are found in the Northern and in the Eastern regions (respectively) and not in his field. So finally, the region-names are not necessarily option - indicatives; and where they indicate option, they are secondary option-indicatives. The degree of option which they have suggested is very low for, the optional forms they have explained have no frequent occurrences in the common language.

41) 'Udīcām Vṛddhādagotrāt' ('PHIÑ' ) P. A. 4.1.157.

The rule treats the affix 'PHIÑ' with reference to the 'Vṛddha and Agotra' words. It states that according to the opinion of the Northern grammarians, after the words having 'Vṛddhi' in the first syllable, not being a gotra-name, the affix 'PHIÑ' is employed in the sense of a descendent. Thus, we have the form 'Āmraguptāyaniḥ' (the son of 'Āmragupta' ). In the alternative the form is 'Āmraguptiḥ' by 'Ata Iñ' (P. A. 4.1.95) which is a general rule. Thus, two forms can be obtained -

'Āmraguptāyaniḥ'   -   Northern

A descendent of Āmragupta

'Āmraguptiḥ'   -   General

In the comments on the rule P.A. 4.1.158 it is pointed out [120] that if the word 'Udīcām' is to be taken as 'Anuvṛtta' the rule P. A. 4.1.158 will have optional application. It clearly indicates that in the rule 157 also the word 'Udīcām' indicates option.

42) 'Guroranṛto ऽ nantyasyāpyekaikasya Prācām' - P. A. 8.2.86.

This rule deals with the 'Pluta' pronounciation as a substitute. It states that in the opinion of the Eastern grammarians, a 'Pluta' is substituted in place of a long vowel (except 'ṛ' ) though it may not stand at the end, (when the word is used to call a person from distance). The 'Pluta' vowel is substituted for each of the prosodially long vowel of the word (i.e. substitution for one vowel at a time). Thus, all the three forms can be obtained as- 'De₃vadatta or Devada₃tta or Devadatta₃. These three forms are alternatives to each other and all these forms are accepted by the Eastern grammarians; but as the word 'Prācām' indicates option, in the alternative a form without 'Pluta' - substitution can also be pleaded and 'Devadatta' without 'Pluta' is the alternative (atleast as an grammatically coined alternative form, though not practical ). 'Kāśikā' also supports the point that the word 'Prācām' indicates option. This rule (with retrospective effect) makes the previous two rules also optional (i.e. 'Pratyabhivāde ऽ śudre' P.A.8.2.83 and 'Dūrāddhūte ca' P.A.8.2.84). Moreover, this rule is an authority for the following maxim of 'Patañjali'.[121]

'Sarva Eva Plūtaḥ Sāhasamanicchatā Vibhāṣā Kartavyaḥ'. Thus, all the rules relating prolation become optional. S. C. Vasu.[122] therefore notes that the word 'Prācām' should be read in all rules regarding prolation and thus without doing violence ('Sāhasa' ) to grammatical authority one may have optional pluta everywhere, but it is not necessary to supply the word 'Prācām' in every rule teaching prolation, one can have optional application of these rules on the authority of 'Patañjali'. Secondly, if one has to provide the word 'Prācām' to every rule teaching prolation, this particular rule under discussion, i. e. P.A. 8.2.86 will loose its peculiarity. This rule has noted the peculiarity of the Eastern style of pronounciation (though the rule is an option - indicative one). Thus, even without providing the word 'Prācām' to the other rules one can apply them optionally on the authority of the 'Iṣṭi' of 'Patañjali'.

43) 'Khāryāḥ Prācām' - P. A. 5.4.101.

The rule teaches the 'Samāsānta'. It ordains the affix 'ṬaC' for the word 'Khārī' at the end of the 'Dvigu'-compound and 'Tatpuruṣa' - compound with certain conditions. The rule states that according to the opinion of the Eastern grammarians, the word 'Khārī' at the end of the 'Dvigu' - compound and also coming at the end of the 'Tatpuruṣa' - compound provided that it is preceded by the word 'Ardha' takes the affix 'ṬaC'. Thus, we have 'Dvikhāram or Dvikhārī' so also 'Ardhakhāram and Ardhakhārī'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dvi Khārī | ṬaC | | |
| Dvi Khārī | a | | |
| Dvi Khārī | ['o'] - 'Yasyeti Ca' - | | P. A. 6.4.148 |
| Dvi Khāra | (neuter by 'Sa Napuṁsakam' - | | P. A. 2.4.17) |
| Dvikhāram | | | Eastern form. |
| Dvikhārī | | | General form. |

In the case of 'Ardhakhāram' the word becomes a neuter by the rule 'Ardham Napuṁsakam' P.A.2.2.2. and thus the form is 'Ardhakhāram' but in the absence of the suffix 'ṬaC' it remains in the feminine and we have the general form 'Ardhakhārī'.

Here ends the discussion of the fourteen rules in which the word either 'Prācām or Udīcām' indicates option. Further we are discussing the fifteen rules in which either of the words do not indicate option for some or the other reason but note a peculiarity of that region. The commentaries explain them as 'Pūjārtham' or explain those words by saying 'Deśaviśeṣavācī'.

The first rule in this group is -

44) 'Prācāmavṛddhāt Phin Bahulam' - P. A. 4.1.160.
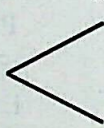
The rule ordains the suffix 'PHIN' ('Āyaniḥ') to the non - 'Vṛddha' words in the sense of a descendent. The rule teaches that, according to the opinion of the Eastern grammarians after a stem not having a 'Vṛddhi' - vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'PHIN' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendent.

This rule has a peculiarity. The three option - indicatives come

together in this rule. 'Pāṇini' himself uses two terms i. e. 'Prācām and 'Bahulam' and the term 'Anyatarasyām' is carried over from the previous rule P.A.4.1.159 i.e. 'Putrāntadanyatarasyām'. This very instance points out the difference between the various option - indicative - terms.

a) The word 'Prācām' in this rule is to pay regards to (i. e. to take note of ) the Eastern tendency of using 'PHIN' to the 'Avṛddha' words and not to indicate option. The word 'Prācām' is used to denote the special usage of the Eastern grammarians.

b) The term 'Anyatarasyām' indicates optional usage. ( It is carried on from the previous rule). For example -

Glucukaḥ
- 'Glucukāyaniḥ' ( by 'PHIN' - P. A. 4.1.160)
- 'Glaucukiḥ'       ( by 'iÑ' - P. A. 4.1.95)
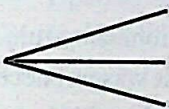
c) The term 'Bahulam' is used to express the non-uniformity in the forms obtained by the rule. In certain cases this rule is not applicable at all (though all the conditions are fulfilled by the object). For example - 'Dākṣiḥ or Plākṣiḥ'. In the case of the words like 'Dakṣaḥ or Plakṣaḥ' the affix 'PHIN' should take place but it does not. Only 'iñ' - forms as 'Dākṣiḥ and Plākṣiḥ' are found. That is to say, this rule has irregular application, that is why the word 'Bahulam' is used. The difference between 'Bahulam' and 'Anyatarasyām' will be more clear in further discussion. 'Kāśikā' [123] on this point comments very precisely.

Now, another important rule is to be studied; and that is -

45) 'Ekācca Prācām' - P.A.5.3.94. The rule states that after the word 'Eka', according to the opinion of the Eastern grammarians, the affixes 'ḌAtaraC and ḌAtamaC', may be added in the sense of determining one out of many,(the question being that of caste according to 'Kāśikā', 'Jātipariprašne' is not carried on from the previous rule).

For the proper understanding of this rule the previous two rules are to be taken into consideration. The rule P.A.5.3.95 i.e.

'Kimyattado Nirdhāraṇe Dvayorekasya Ḍatarac' ordains the additional suffix 'ḌAtaraC' to the pronouns 'Kim, Yad and Tad' when there is question of determining one out of two. The rule P. A. 5.3.93 ordains the additional suffix 'ḌAtamaC', to the same stem, when there is question of determining one out of many and when the question is that of being caste. Now, the rule P. A. 5.3.94 allows both the affixes with their own conditions ( i.e. 'Ḍatarac Dvayorekasya Nirdhāraṇe' and 'Ḍatamac Bahūnāmekasya Nirdhāraṇe' ) though the condition 'Jātip_pariprasṇe' is not carried on. Thus, we have three forms -

Eka $\Bigg\langle$
| 'Eka' | - | General form |
| 'Ekatara' | - | Eastern form |
| 'Ekatama' | - | |

The purpose of this rule is to provide these two suffixes to the word 'Eka', because they are not stated for the word 'Eka' by those two rules. The word 'Prācam' is used to note the Easten tendency. The option is indicated by the word 'Vā' which is carried on from the previous rule. 'Kāśikā' [124] supports the point. TB.[125] explains it in the same manner.

Vyā.MB. however says (as BM. quotes [126] ) that the optional forms can be explained by the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' and thus it was not necessary to use the word 'Prācam'. What 'Patañjali' implies is that the term 'Vā' is enough for indicating option ('Vā'-which is carried on).

Vasu.[127] , in the explanation of the rule P.A.5.3.93 says that the word 'Vā' (optionally), indicates that the affix 'akaC' ( P.A. 5.3.71) also comes as 'Yako Bhavatām Kaṭhaḥ Sakaḥ Āgacchatu'. This idea may be expressed by a sentence also, owing to the 'Paribhāṣā', 'Samarthānām Prathamādvā' - P.A.4.1.82. as 'Ko Bhavatām Kaṭhaḥ, Yo Bhavatam Kaṭhaḥ Sa Āgacchatu'. But we have to keep in mind that this 'Paribhāṣā' has scope only upto P.A.5.3.1 while the rule 'Ekāccha Prācam' is P. A. 5.3.94.

What Vyā.MB. implies is something else than what Vasu

explains.'*Kāśikā*' [128] gives explanation of this point in the comments on the rule P. A. 5.3.1. It says that the affixes, ordained by the following rules are 'Svārthika's' and in their case the word 'Samarthānām' and the 'Prathamāt' are not to be carried over; but the word 'vā' is to be carried. Thus, the option - indicative - nature of that 'Mahāvibhāṣā' rule is retained. That is to say, according the Vyā.MB. the term 'Vā' in the rule 'Vā Bahūnām - - -' represents the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' rule 'Samarthānām - - -'. When an option is denoted by a 'Mahāvibhāṣā' rule it allows a sentence as an alternative. Thus, we have a sentence as 'Ko Bhavatām Kaṭhaḥ Yo Bhavatām Kaṭhaḥ Sa Āgacchatu'.

If the option - indication of that 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule is already carried on (as '*Kāśikā*' explains - cf .[128]) it was not necessary to use the word 'Vā' again, but we must note that this rule is an example of an optional-rule under 'Mahāvibhāṣā', as we have 'Pāre Madhye Ṣaṣṭhyā Vā' under the 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule 'Vibhāṣā' P.A. 2.1.11. In the case of the rule 'Ekāccha Prācām' the word 'Vā' is carried on from the previous rule. This 'Vā' carries two points with it, one is the implication of that 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - rule and the second is the permission for the alternative forms of the word 'Eka'. The 'Mahāvibhāṣā' - implication allows both, either a sentence or any form of word 'Eka' (i.e. 'Eka, Ekatara and Ekatama') while the word 'Vā' itself (as it is carried on) allows an alternative between 'Eka, Ekatara and Ekatama'. In these forms option-indication is not done by the word 'Prācām' but it is used to note the Eastern peculiarity. Thus, there is no relation between the function of 'Mahāvibhāṣā' (allowing a sentence) and the word 'Prācām' (as 'Patañjali' thinks - cf .[130]). Finally we have three alternatives of the word 'Eka'.

a)  Eka                          general form
b)  Ekatara or Ekatama          Eastern form ('Prācām Vā' )
c)  either 'Eka, Ekatara, Ekatama' or a sentence ('Mahāvibhāṣā').

46) 'Prācāmupāderaḍajvucau Ca' - P. A. 5.3.80.

This rule ordains some affixes to the name of a person, begin-

ning with 'Upa'. The rule states that according to the opinion of the Eastern grammarians the affixes 'aḍaC' and 'VUC' ('Aka') also come after a person whose name begins with 'Upa'. All these affixes are employed when the sense is that of compassion or of courtesy joined with compassion. The word 'Anukampāyām' from the rule P.A. 5.3.76 is carried over to the three rules i. e. P. A. 5.3.78 - 79 - 80. According to 'Kāśikā', 'Ca' in this rule carries the affixes 'GHAÑ' and 'ilaC'. 'THAC' is already 'Anuvṛtta'. Thus, we have six forms as the alternatives -

|     | Anukampitaḥ |   | Upendradattaḥ |   |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1)  | Upaḍaḥ aḍaC | - | ('aḍa') | Eastern |
| 2)  | Upakaḥ VUC | - | ('aka') | Eastern |
| 3)  | Upiyaḥ GHAÑ | - | ('iya') | General |
| 4)  | Upilaḥ ilaC | - | ('ila') | General |
| 5)  | Upikaḥ THAC | - | ('ika') | General |
| 6)  | Upendradattakaḥ kaN | - | ('ka') | General |

The question is that of the option - indication by the word 'Prācām'. As the word 'Vā' is carried on from the rule P. A. 5.3.78 (i.e. 'Bahvaco manuṣya - - ' ) it works for indicating option for this rule also. The word 'Prācām' is used to take note of the Eastern usage. BM.[129] also supports the point.

47) 'Prācām Nagarānte' - P. A. 7.3.24.

This rule and the following four rules carry either the word 'Nagar, Deśa or Pura'. These words directly connect themselves with the words like 'Prācām, or Udīcām or Anudīcām' and refer to the cities and thus there arises no question whether these rules indicate option or not. They do not indicate option but these words become 'Deśaviśeṣavāci[s] '.

The rule states that before a 'Taddhita'-affix, having an indicatory 'Ñ, Ṇ or K', 'Vṛddhi' is substituted for the first vowels of both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the eastern people and which ends in the word 'Nagara'. So in the case of an Eastern city named 'Suhmanagara' the 'Taddhita' form will

be 'Sauhmanāgaraḥ' but in the case of the Northern country 'Madranagara', we have 'Mādranagara' and not 'Mādranāgaraḥ'. 'Kāśikā' has no important comment on this rule.

48) 'Amahannavam Nagare ς nudīcām' - P. A. 6.2.89.

The rule teaches about the accentuation of the city names. It states that the first member has acute on the first syllable before the word 'Nagara' but not when it is with the word 'Mahat' or 'Nava' and also not when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern people. Thus, the acute accent falls on the first vowel of the word 'Suhmanagaram' or 'Virāṭnagaram' but in the case of 'Mahā-nagaram' and 'Navanagaram' there is no acute accent on the first vowel. So also in the case of 'Nāndīnagaram' and 'Kāntīnagaram' there is no acute accent on the first vowel because these two cities are from Northern region.

It seems that the residents of the cities mentioned here have a speciality in pronunciation of the words. The point is why does he use the word 'Anudīcām' (with a negative). It is to express the force. Its negative mention indicates that Northern regions will never utter the first word with an acute accent on the first syllable if it is al-lowed by the word 'Nagara'. In that case the natural accent will fall on the last vowel.

49) 'Prācām Grāmanagarāṇām' - P. A. 7.3.14.

The rule teaches the 'Vṛddhi' - substitution for the first vowel of the word with some conditions. It states that after a word denot-ing direction, the first vowel of the name of a village or a city in the land of the Eastern people, gets the 'Vṛddhi' before a 'Taddhita'-affix having an indicatory 'Ñ, Ṇ or K', when the word denotes a person of that place. Thus, in the case of 'Pūrveṣukāmaśamaḥ' the 'Taddhita' form is 'Pūrvaiṣukāmaśamaḥ' ( the Eastern form) and the Northern form would have been 'Paurvaiṣukāmaśamaḥ' - ('Vṛddhi' for both the vowels, the first of the first word and the first of the last word).

Thus,

                       'Pūrvaiṣukāmaśamaḥ'      Eastern.

Pūrveṣukāmaśamaḥ   &lt;

                       'Paurvaiṣukāmaśamaḥ'  Northern.

The word 'Prācām' does not indicate option but denotes only the usage of the Eastern direction. 'Kāśikā' has no important comment on this rule.

50) 'Eṅ Prācām Deśe' - P. A. 1.1.75

The rule notes about the peculiar trend regarding the designation of 'Vṛddham'. It states that a word that has the letters 'e' and 'o' as the first among its vowels, gets the designation as 'Vṛddham' when it is the name of the Eastern country. These two vowels i. e. 'e' and 'o' are not the 'Vṛddha' - vowels according to 'Pāṇini', on the contrary they are 'Guṇa' - vowels according to 'Pāṇini's' definition (cf. 'Vṛddhirādaic' - P.A.1.1.1 and 'Adeṅ Guṇaḥ' - P.A.1.1.2), so the words beginning with 'e' and 'o' cannot be designated as 'Vṛddha' in 'Pāṇini'; but the rule gives special permission to the words beginning with 'e' and 'o' to be designated as 'Vṛddha'. The effect of being a 'Vṛddha' - word is the application of the rule 'Vṛddhāt Chaḥ' P. A. 4.2.114 and thus the forms are 'Eṇīpacanīyaḥ' or 'Gonardīyaḥ' ( in the sense of the son of 'Eṇīpacana or Gonarda'). In the regions other than the Eastern region, these words are not 'Vṛddha' thus they will take 'aN' by the general rule 'Tasyāpatyam' P.A. 4.1.92 and the forms will be 'Eaiṇīpacanaḥ or Gaunardaḥ'. Finally,

Eṇīpacanīyaḥ        Eastern
Eaiṇīpacanaḥ        General

As the word 'Deśe' is used in this rule it is very clear that the word 'Prācām' referes to the usage of the Eastern country and not for option - indication. The grammarian 'Kuṇin' (as Vasu notes [130]) takes the word 'Prāc' as an ephithet qualifying the word 'Ācārya'. In that case, this will be an optional rule giving the opinion of the Eastern people, but as the word 'Deśe' is used, it clearly indicates the regional trend.

51) 'Pure Prācām' - P.A. 6.2.99 ('Pūrvapadamantodāttam' ).

The rule ordains an acute accent on the final of the first member. It states that, when a compound denotes a city of the Eastern country, the final of the first member has an acute accent before the word 'Pura'. This rule, however, is not the opinion of the Eastern grammarians but it is 'Pāṇini's' observation about the Eastern cities. The rule denotes that to speak in the proper way (about the Eastern cities) it is obligatory to give an accent on the final of the first member that is to say the rule insists upon a particular intonation. Otherwise the accent will fall upon the last vowel by the rule 'Samāsasya' P. A. 6.1.123.

For example - 'Śivapuram'.

52) 'Vṛddhāt Prācām' - P. A. 4.2.120

The rule ordains the 'Śaiṣikapratyaya' to the word denoting the locality of the Eastern folk. It states that the affix 'ṬHAÑ' ('ka') comes in the remaining senses (other than taught before in the chapter of 'Śaiṣika ṬHAÑ' from P.A.4.2.116 to P.A.4.2.120) after a 'Vṛddha' word ending in 'u' and denoting a locality of the Eastern folks. Thus, the forms one gets are 'Āḍhakajambukaḥ or Śākajambukaḥ'.

Āḍhakajambū      +   'ṬHAÑ -                         ( 'Vṛddhāt Prācām' )

Āḍhakajambū      +   ka     - ('Ugantāt Paratvāt Ṭhasya Kaḥ' )[131]

Āḍhakajambukaḥ'                                      ('Ke ç ṇaḥ' - 7.4.13)

Here the word 'Prācām' is used to denote the locality of the Eastern folks and the word is not connected with 'Ācāryāṇām'. *BM.* also agrees with the point.[132]

53) 'Ropadhetoḥ Prācām' - P. A. 4.2.123

The rule ordains the suffix 'VUÑ' ('Aka' ) for the word denoting the Eastern locality; with certain conditions. The rule states that the affix 'VUÑ' comes in the remaining sense after a word, denoting a locality of the Eastern folk, and the word having a penultimate 'r' or ending in 'ī'. So the forms are : -

Pāṭaliputra    + VUÑ   ('Aka' ) - ( Ropadhetoḥ - - P. A. 4.2.123.)
Pāṭaliputrakaḥ                      :             ('Ato Guṇe' P. A. 6.1.97)
Kākandī      +    VUÑ  = 'Kākandakaḥ'

The word 'Prācām' denotes the usage in the Eastern country.

54) 'Prācām Kaṭadeḥ' - P. A. 4.2.139.

The rule states that the affix 'CHA' ('īya' ) comes in the remaining senses ( other than taught before in this context i.e. this is a 'Śaiṣika Pratyaya' ) after the words beginning with 'Kaṭa' denoting the places of Eastern folk. Thus, the forms are 'Kaṭanagarīyam' or 'Kaṭaghoṣīyam'. The word 'Prācām' does not indicate option but refers to an Eastern peculiarity.[133]

55) 'Prācām Krīḍāyām' - P. A. 6.2.74.

The rule informs about accentuation. It states that a compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the 'Aka' - affix and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the acute accent on the first syllable of that word. The word 'Prācām' is used to note the special utterance of the Eastern plays. Thus, the forms are : -

-'Uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā' - ( U ------Udātta ) Eastern play

but   -'jīvaputrapracāyikā'    -   ( Kā -----Udātta ) Northern play
BM.[134] also supports the point.

56) 'Iñaḥ Prācām' - P. A. 2.4.60

The rule teaches the elision of the 'Yuvan' - affix. It states that after a word ending with the gotra - affix 'iÑ' (by the rule P. A. 4.1.95) there is the 'Luk' - elision of the 'Yuvan' -affix, when the gotra of the people called 'Prācya' (Eastern) is to be denoted. Thus, the 'Gotra' descendent of 'Pannāgāra' is- 'Pānnāgāra + iÑ = Pānnā-gāriḥ'. Here the 'Yuvan' -affix 'PHAK' (P. A. 4.1.101) is elided by the present rule and so 'Pānnāgāriḥ' is both, the father and the son.

The word 'Prācām' here qualifies the word gotra (which is understood from the previous rule)[135] and does not indicate option. When the 'Gotra' of 'Prācya :' is not intended there is no elision. Thus, 'Dākṣiḥ and Dākṣāyaṇaḥ', the son of 'Dākṣi'.

57) 'Udīcyagrāmāccabahvocontodāttāt' - P. A. 4.2.109

The rule ordains 'Śaiṣika aÑ' - affix. It states that the affix 'aÑ' comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having 'Udātta' accent on the final, being the name of a village of the people of the North. This debars 'aN'. Thus, the form is 'Śaivapuram' ( I ----udātta) but 'Māthuram' (by 'aN' 'Antodātta' ). Why it is said as 'Bahvacaḥ'. See - Dhvājī or Dhvājaḥ.

The word 'Udīcya' itself suggests that it does not refer to the Northern opinion but it refers to the peculiar trend of Northern people thus no option - indication at all.

58) 'Kāraṇāmni Ca Prācām Halādau' - P. A. 6.3.10

This rule deals with the non-elision of the locative suffix in certain cases. The rule states that the locative case affix is not elided after a stem, ending in a consonant or a short 'a', in the name of a tax of the Eastern people. Thus, the forms are 'Sūpeśāṇaḥ, Dviṣadimāṣakaḥ, Haledvipadikā, Haletripadikā'. All these are names of taxes and would have retained the locative ending even by the previous rule. Thus, the purpose of this rule is to restrict the operation of non-elision in certain cases only. This restriction is three fold - (1) when it is a name of a tax and no other name or word. (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people. (3) when the second member begins with a consonant.

The word 'Prācām' does not indicate option but notes a speciality of the names of taxes in Eastern country. 'Kāśikā' [136] notes the point briefly. In the case of 'Abhyarhite Paśuḥ' - something else than a tax is suggested so locative affix is elided and we have 'Abhyarhitapaśuḥ'. The tax 'Yūthapaśuḥ' is not the Eastern tax thus locative is elided - otherwise 'Yūthepaśuḥ'. Now, in the case of 'Avikaṭe - Uraṇaḥ', 'Uttarpada' begins with a vowel thus elision of the locative takes place and we have the form as 'Avikaṭoraṇaḥ'. In the case of 'Nadīdohanī' as the word 'Nadī' does not end either in a consonant nor in a short 'a' thus the elision of the locative takes place and the form is 'Nadīdohanī'.

Here ends the discussion of the rules which do not indicate option either by the word 'Prācām or Udīcām or Anudīcām' but these words are used to show the speciality of these regions. Further, some rules are studied in which a particular region by its name itself is mentioned and naturally they do not indicate option for the reason that the name of the region presents the special style of that locality.

The first rule from this group is : -

59) 'Vṛddhāt Ṭhak Sauvīreṣu Bahulam' - P. A. 4.1.148

This rule and the following two rules use the word 'Sauvīra'. According to 'Kāśikā' [137] in the rules P.A.4.1.148-149 the word 'Sauvīra' is used as a gotra-name while in rule no 150 it is a name of a country. The rule 148 states that when contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ṬHAK' ('ik' ) is diversely added in the sense of a descendent after a 'Vṛddha' - word denoting the 'Sauvīragotra'. A point should be noted here that 'Sauvīra gotra ' also means the gotra in the 'Sauvīra' country but it comes to mean that if a person from 'Sauvīragotra' is not living in 'Sauvīra -country' but some-where else then also this rule should apply in denoting his descendent while in the rule P. A. 4.1.150 implication is different. The rule P.A.4.1.150 should apply in the case of the person who is belonging to the 'Sauvīra-country' though he is not from a 'Sauvīragotra'. Thus, this difference between a person from 'Sauvīra-gotra' and a person from a 'Sauvīra-country' should be marked. As the example of P.A. 4.1.148 we have 'Bhāgavittikaḥ or Bhāgavittāyanaḥ' (by 'PHAK' P.A.4.1.101) so also 'Tārṇabindavikaḥ or Tārṇabindaviḥ' (by 'iñ, P. A. 4.1.95. ata iñ' ); and the third is 'Ākaṣāpeyikaḥ or Ākaṣāpeyiḥ' (by 'iÑ, P. A. 4.1.95. Ata Iñ' ). There is a verse[138] which notes that the three gotra' take the affix 'ṬHAK' diversely. As the word 'Bahulam' is used in this rule, the anomalous nature[139] of the four rules (cf. P.A. 4.1.147 to P.A. 4.1.150) is very clear. In the rule P.A. 4.1.147 only contempt is expected, in the rule P.A.4.1.148 and 149, contempt and 'Gotra' both are expected and in the rule P.A. 4.1.150

only 'Sauvīra' is expected (not necessarily a person from 'Sauvīra-gotra' but) any person from that country and contempt is not expected. There is no question of option- indication in this rule as the rule specifies the tendencies of the 'Sauvīragotra' or region.
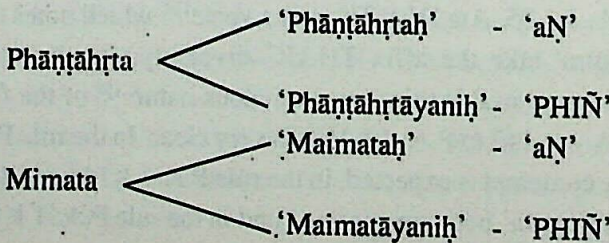
60) 'Pheścha Ca' ('Kutsane Sauvīreṣu' ) P. A. 4.1.149

The word 'Pheḥ' refers to the affix 'PHIÑ' and not to the affix 'PHIN' because the 'Vṛddhādhikāra' is continued. The rule states that when contempt is to be expressed the affix 'CHA' (as well as 'ṬHAK' ) comes in the sense of a descendent after a nominal stem ending in the affix 'PHIÑ' and denoting the 'Sauvīragotra'. Thus, the son of 'Yamuna' will be 'Yāmundāyaniḥ' formed by the affix 'PHIÑ' ( P. A. 4.1.154) as this word belongs to the 'Tikādi' class. The son of 'Yamundāyaniḥ' will be either 'Yāmundāyanīyaḥ or Yāmundāyanikaḥ' (by 'CHA' and 'ṬHAK' respectively) but when contempt is not to be expressed the son of 'Yāmundāyaniḥ' will be 'Yāmundāyaniḥ' as the affix 'aṆ' is added to the word and then zeroed by P.A. 2.4.58. There are three 'PHIÑ' - ending Gotras as the 'Kāśikā' [140] notes.

61) 'Phāṇṭāhṛtimimatābhyām Ṇaphiñau' ('Sauvīreṣu' )
P. A. 4.1.150

In this rule both the affixes are employed to both the words. The word 'Mimata' should actually stand first in the rule because of the aphorism 'Alpāctaram' (P.A.2.2.34), and then we would have to apply 'Yathāsaṁkhyamanudeśaḥ Samānānām' (P.A.1.3.10) but as the word 'Mimata' is put later it indicates that P.A.1.3.10 does not apply here and thus 'Yathāsaṁkhya' is not to be applied, thus, two forms of each word are obtained -

Phāṇṭāhṛta      'Phāṇṭāhṛtaḥ'    - 'aṆ'
              'Phāṇṭāhṛtāyaniḥ' - 'PHIÑ'

Mimata      'Maimataḥ'      - 'aṆ'
        'Maimatāyaniḥ'   - 'PHIÑ'

'*Kāśikā*' takes the word 'Sauvīra' as denoting a gotra because sup-porting examples are found; but it is also possible that 'Pāṇini' not accepting those forms, mentions the 'Sauvīra' - region, to note this difference of opinion and to complete the picture thereby. If the 'Sauvīragotra' is not to be indicated then one gets the forms as 'Phāṇṭāhṛtāyanaḥ' and 'Maimatāyanaḥ' by 'PHAK' - P. A. 4.1.101 and P. A.4.1.99 (The word 'Mimata' belongs to the 'Naḍādi' class).

Here follows the discussion about the three rules which em-ploy the word 'Prācyabharateṣu' and as the word denotes a particu-lar region it does not indicate option at all.

62) 'Bahvaca Iñaḥ Prācyabharateṣu' - P. A. 2.4.66

The rule states that there is 'Luk' -elision of the gotra-affix 'iñ' (4.1.95) after a polysyllabic word which denotes the gotra of the people called 'Prācya and Bharata' when the word takes the plural. Thus, the forms are 'Pannāgārāḥ, Manthareṣaṇaḥ, Yudhiṣṭhirāḥ'. The plural of 'Pannāgāriḥ' is 'Pannāgārāḥ'. As the 'Gotra' - affix 'iÑ' is elided the word ends in 'a' and thus the plural is 'Pannāgārāḥ'. So also 'Manthareṣaṇaḥ' as the plural of 'Māntharaiṣaṇiḥ' ( as the affix is elided its co-effect also disappears). Thus, the 'Vṛddhi' in the first syllable of 'Māntharaiṣaṇiḥ' also becomes a simple vowel and thus the form is 'Manthareṣaṇaḥ' in plural. In the same way the 'Vṛddhi' in - 'Raiṣaṇiḥ' also becomes simple as 'Reṣaṇaḥ'.

The restriction is that the 'Gotra' must be of the 'Prācya Bha-rata ˢ', because when denoting a 'Gotrā' of any other people the gotra-affix is retained in the plural form, for example, - 'Bālākayaḥ' (the plural of 'Bālākiḥ' ) or 'Hastidāsayaḥ' ( the plural of 'Hasti-dāsiḥ'). The other condition is that of the polysyllabic nature of the word. As the words 'Vaikiḥ or Pauṣpiḥ' are not polysyllabic their plurals are 'Vaikayaḥ or Pauṣpayaḥ' ( i.e. which retain the gotra-affix). The 'Bharata ˢ' themselves are 'Prācya ˢ'. Then why it is specifically mentioned as 'Prācya Bharata ˢ'. It is to show that the word 'Prācya' does not include the 'Bharata ˢ' in all the instances. Thus, in the case of 'Iñaḥ Prācām' (P.A.2.4.60) the 'Bharata ˢ' are not included so there

is no elision of the 'Yuvan' -affix of the word 'Ārjuniḥ' (father) and 'Ārjunāyanaḥ' (son). 'Kāśikā' has very precise comment on this point.[141]

### 63) 'Na Dvyacaḥ Prācyabharateṣu' - P. A. 4.2.113

The rule also states about the patronymic affix like the previous rule(i.e. 'Bahvaca Iñaḥ' - - ). The rule states that the affix 'aN' is not however added to a word which, though ending in a patronymic affix 'iñ' consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of the Eastern people or of the 'Bharata ˢ'. This rule debars 'aN' which would have come by the previous rule 'Iñaśca' (P. A. 4.2.112). Thus, from the word 'Pauṣki or Kāśi' (which end in 'iñ' ) and the forms are 'Pauṣkīyāḥ or Kāśīyāḥ' - with the affix 'CHA' by the rule ('Vṛddhācchaḥ' - P.A. 4.2.114) instead of the 'aN' (by P.A. 4.2.112). The implication of the word 'Prācya-Bharateṣu' is the same as in the previous rule.

### 64) 'Pariskandaḥ Prācyabharateṣu' - P. A. 8.3.75

The rule states that the word 'Pariskanda' is used without the cerebral change in the country of Eastern 'Bharata ˢ'. The cerebral change is due to the previous rule, 'Pareśca' - P. A. 8.2.74, that is prohibited here. Prof. Bothlingk translates [142] this rule as follows - 'Pariskanda' is seen in the usage of the Eastern people and the 'Bharata ˢ'. The base of his construction is the two previous Sutra ˢ i.e. P.A.2.4.66 and P.A. 4.2.113, where the 'Prācya Bharateṣu' means 'the Eastern people and 'Bharataˢ'.

Vasu.[143], however, following 'Kāśikā'.[144] translates the word by understanding the word 'Bharata', specifying the word 'Prācya', but gives no reason for doing it so.

### 65) 'Madrebhyo ς ñ' - P. A. 4.2.108.

The affix 'aÑ' is added to the word 'madra' preceded by a word denoting direction, in the remaining senses. Thus, the forms are 'Paurvamadraḥ or Āparamadraḥ'. In other cases the initial vowel of the name of the country is Vṛddhied as the rule P.A. 7.3.13 states.

66) 'Diśo ⸢ madrāṇām' - P. A. 7.3.13.

The rule states that after a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of the country, with the exception of 'Madra' gets 'Vṛddhi' before a 'Taddhita' affix having an indicatory 'Ñ, Ṇ or K'. Thus, the forms are 'Pūrvapāñcālakaḥ or Aparapāñcālakaḥ': But in the case of the word 'Madra', the first vowel of the first word (denoting direction) is 'Vṛddhied', thus the forms are 'Paurvamadraḥ or Āparamadraḥ'.

67) 'Vibhāṣośīnareṣu' - P. A. 4.2.118.

The affixes 'ṬHAÑ' and 'ÑIṬH' come optionally in the remaining senses after the 'Vṛddha' -words denoting 'Vāhīka' - villages situated in 'Uśīnara' - region. Thus, the forms are 'Saudarśanikī' (by 'ṬHAÑ'), 'Saudarśanikā' (by 'ÑIṬH') and 'Saudarśanīyā' (by 'CHA'). The option is already indicated by the word 'Vibhāṣā'.

Here are some observations regarding the rules which employ direction-names and region-names. 'Pāṇini' mentions different regions at his time in his rules and the available map of India at 'Pāṇini's' time is enclosed with the appendix of this book.

1) It is observed that even at 'Pāṇini's' time different divisions of the state as 'Grāma, Nagara, Pura' etc. were made for political and administrative purpose; and the rules like 'Pure Prācām' P.A. 6.2.99. and 'Prācām Grāmanagarāṇām' P.A.7.3.14. mention them.

2) The difference between Eastern and Northern tendencies is clearly shown by the rules like 'Udīcām Māno Vyatīhāre' or 'Prācāmavṛddhāt Phin Bahulam' etc.

3) The rules employing region-names show 'Pāṇini's' minute observations. He has noted different tendencies of the language at different places. The rules using sage-names explain the forms on the authority of those sages while these rules note the peculiarities of those regions.

4) In both the cases the degree of option is very very low and thus these names are called minor option - indicatives. To note

the statistics it can be said that twenty four rules employing region-names do not indicate option while fourteen rules indicate it. P. Thieme. mentions three or four cases and tries to prove that these names do not indicate option for the reason that some other option - indicative word is used along with these names. Here it can be said that when these names are mentioned along with some other option - indicative word they may not indicate option but when these names are devoid of any other option - indicative - word they do indicate option though of a very low degree.

Moreover, as it is shown earlier different option - indicative words have different dgrees and shades of option. The sage-names and region-names denote option in some cases. Such cases are pointed out by the commentaries, but these are minor option - indicatives.

---

# References

1) *Vyā.MB*. Vol . I, on the rule P. A. 1.1.44, P . 243

आचार्यदेशशीलने च तद्विषयता । आचार्यशीलनेन देशशीलनेन च यद् उच्यते तस्य तद्विषयता प्राप्नोति। इको ह्रस्वो ऽ ङ्यो गालवस्य ६.३.३१, प्राचां वृद्धात् फिन् बहुलम्। ४.१.६० इति गालवा एव ह्रस्वान् प्रयुञ्जीरन् प्राक्षु चैव हि फिन् स्यात्। तद्यथा - जमदग्निर्वा एतत्पञ्चमम‍वदानमवाद्यत्तस्मान्नाजामदग्न्यः पञ्चावत्तं जुहोति ।

2) *Śa - Brā.*, The Pañcāvatta - ritual - 1.7.2.8

उतो - पञ्चावत्तमेव भवति । एतद्ध न्चेव प्रज्ञातं कौरुपाञ्चालं यच्चतुरावत्तम्। *Āpa . ŚS* . 2.1.8.2

जमदग्नीनां तु पञ्चावत्तम् ।

3) *Pradīpa - Vyā.MB* Vol . I, on the rule , P . 243

सर्वप्रयोक्तृप्रसङ्गे गालवस्य तत् प्रयोक्तृत्वमिति नियमार्थ स्यात् ।

4) *Vyā.MB* . Vol . I., on the rule, P . 242

यस्य पुनर्नित्या शब्दाः गालवग्रहणं तस्य पूजार्थ देशग्रहणं च कीर्त्यर्थम् ।

5) Abhyankar, K. V., '*Vyā.MB*.' Vol .II, D. E. S. Poona 1954,P.157

6) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule P. A. 1.1.16
   - –इति शब्दे अनार्षे = अवैदिके परतः । – – शाकल्यग्रहणं विभाषार्थम्।

7) Thieme, P., '*Pāṇini and the R̥kprātiśākhya*' - An article. I.H.Q.
   Vol .V, 1937, P.335

8) *Kāśikā* - on the rule 6.1.129, C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, P. 493
   उपस्थितं नामार्षेतिकरणः । समुदायादवच्छिद्य पदं येन स्वरूपे अवस्थाप्यते।

9) Limaye, V. P., '*Critical Studies on the Mahābhāṣya*', V. V. R.
   I. Hoshiarpur, 1974, A quotation from PM - 90 , 18 - 19, P.192
   ऋषिर्वेद: । तत्र भवः आर्षः । ततो ऽन्यो ऽनार्षः । समुदायात् वाक्यात् अवच्छिद्य
   पृथक्कृत्य स्वरूपे ऽवस्थाप्यते । कैः । पदकारैः । पदस्येयत्तापरिज्ञानाय।

10) Vasu, S. C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*', Vol.I, on the rule 1.1.16
    MBP. Delhi, 1962, P.16

11) Shintre, Shivaramshastri., '*R̥k.Ptk.*', University of Bombay, 1941
    प्रकृत्येतिकरणादौ प्रगृह्याः, स्वरेषु चार्षा प्रथमो यथोक्तम् ।
    सहोदयास्ता प्रगृहीतपदाः सर्वत्रैव त्र्यक्षरास्तु नवे ॥१॥ २.२७

12) Ibid . 1.28
    ओकार आमन्त्रितजः प्रगृह्यः पदं चान्यो ऽ पूर्वपदान्तगश्च ।
    षष्ठ्यादयश्च द्विवचो ऽ न्तभाजस्त्रयो दीर्घाः साप्तमिकौ च पूर्वे ॥२॥

13) *Av* . (*Śau.*) Vol.IV., V. V. S. Hosiyarpur, 25.4, P.501
    अपेतो वायो सविता च । - अप । द्रुतः । वायो इति । सायण - तेषु
    वाय्वादिदेवतासम्बोधनमेवविशेषः । हे वायो त्वं च सविता च ।

14) *R̥gveda.* V. 51.5
    वायुवायाहि वीतये जुषाणो हव्यदातये ।
    पिबौ सुतस्यार्घसो अभि प्रयः ।

15) *Atharvaveda* - VI . 68.1
    आयमगन्त्सविता क्षुरेणोष्णेन वाय उदनेहि - वायो इति । उदनेन । आ ।ऽइहि ।
    हे वायो = vocative . sandhi is disjuncted.

16) *R̥v.* IX . 51.1
    अध्वर्यो अद्रिभिः सुतं सोमं पवित्र आ सृज । पुनीहीन्द्राय पातवे ।

17) *R̥k.Ptk.* 1.18.19 *Vāja.Ptk* . 1 . 92 - 98
    *Tai.Ptk* 4.1.54 *Atha.Ptk* . 1  73 - 82

18) Whitney, W.D., 'Tai.Ptk' (with the Tribhāṣyaratna) cf. 4. 1-54 AOS. 1857.

19) Sharma, V. V., 'Vāja.Ptk.', University of Madras, 1934, 1.93

20) Kāśikā - C. S. S. Banarasa, 1952, on the rule 1.1.17, P. 11

शाकल्यस्येति विभाषार्थम् । उ इति, विति

and on the rule 1.1.18

शाकल्यस्य ग्रहणं विभाषार्थमिहाप्यनुवर्तते, तेन त्रीणि रूपाणि भवन्ति,
उ इति ; विति ; ऊँ इति ।

21) Ṛk.Ptk - 1.75

उकारश्छेतिकरणेन युक्तो रक्तो ऽ पृक्तो द्राधितः शाकलेन ।

22) Ṛgveda - I.24.8

उरुं हि राजा वरुणश्चकार सूर्याय पन्थामन्वेतवा उँ ।

23) Ṛgveda - II.6.11

इमां मे अग्रे - - - इमा उ षु श्रुधि गिरः ।

24) AV. I.6.4

शर्मु सन्त्वनूप्या ऽ : ।

padapāṭha - śam ū iti.

25) Whitney, W. D., 'Atharvaveda Saṁhitā', Motilāla Banarasidas Prakashana, Delhi, Patana, Varanasi, 1962

26) Kāśikā - C. S. S. Banarasa, 1952, on the rule 6.1.127, P. 493

शाकल्यस्य ग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । आरम्भसामर्थ्यादेवहि यणादेशेन विकल्पः सिद्धः।

27) Vyā.MB Vol. II, on the rule 6.1.127, P. 772

नित्यग्रहणेन नार्थः । सित्समासयोः शाकलं भवत्येव ।

28) Ṛgveda . I .135.3 Tai . saṁ 1.2.1.16

तवायं भाग ऋत्वियः ।

29) Vyā.MB. Vol . II, MBP Patana, 1967, on the rule 6.1.127, P.772

वार्तिकस्थनित्यग्रहणप्रत्याख्यानभाष्यम् ।

30) Kāśikā - C.S.S. Banārasa, 1952, on the rule 6.1.128 P.493

सवर्णार्थमनिगर्थं च वचनम् ।

31) Ibid - on the rule P. A. 8.4.51

32) Ṛgveda - I . 48 . 9

उषु आ भाहि भानुना चन्द्रेण दुहितर्दिवः ।

उर्षः । आ । भा॒ हि । भानुना॑ । चन्द्रे॑ण । दुहि॒ता । दिवः॑ ।

33) Abhyankar, K.V., '*Vyā.MB.*' Vol .II, D.E.S. Poona, 1954, P.130

34) Tripathi, Pandita Shambhunatha, '*Śākaṭāyana Vyākaraṇa*' Bharatiya Jnanapitha Prakashana, 1971

35) Belvalkara, S. K., '*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*', University of Bombay Publication, 1915, P . 11 - 12,

36) Rajavade, V. K., *Nirukta* - B.O.R.I ., Poona, 1940, ( 1.3 )

न निर्बद्धाः उपसर्गा अर्थान्निराहुरिति शाकटायनः ।

37) Belvalkara, S. K., '*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*' University of Bombay Publication, 1915, P.12

38) *Kāśikā* - C.S.S.,Banārasa, 1952, on the rule 3.4.111, P.248

39) Schroeder, M. S., '*Mai.Saṁ.*',Leipzig, 1883, 1.11.5

देवा वै नानायज्ञानपश्यन् - - - तस्मिन्नाजिमयुस्तं बृहस्पति - - - ।

Satavalekar, '*Tai.Saṁ.*', Poona, 1945. 5.3.2.3

दधाति नव वै - - - पशुष्वाजिमयुस्तान् - - - ।

40) *BM.* (on *Si.kau*) Vol . III P . 286

एकारस्तु 'लिङ्  च', 'लिङशिषि' इत्युत्तरार्थः इति भाष्ये स्पष्टम् ।

41) Ibid

शाकटायनग्रहणाद्विकल्पलाभः इति भावः ।

42) Abhyankara, K.V. '*Vyā.MB.*' Vol.II, MBP, Patana, Pradīpa, P.273

लङः एव शाकटायनस्येति विज्ञायमाने लुङ् शाकटायनस्य न स्यात् । ततश्च लुङि विकल्पः प्रसज्येत । लङि तु नित्यः स्यादित्यर्थः ।

43) *Udyota* - Ibid

शाकटायने लङः एवान्यस्य तन्मते नेत्यर्थे लुङि शाकटायनमते निषेधः, अन्यस्य तन्मते जुसित्यर्थाद्विकल्पः फलितः ।

44) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. , Banārasa, 1952, on the rule. 8.3.18, P.741

लघुप्रयत्नतरत्वमुच्चारणे स्थानकरणशैथिल्यम् । स्थानं ताल्वादि करणं जिह्वामूलादि। तयोरुच्चारणे शैथिल्यं मन्दप्रयत्नता ।

45) Tripathi, P. S.,'*Śā.vyā*', (with *Amoghavṛtti*) Bharatiya Jnanapeetha Prakashan, 1971, on 1.1.153., P . 25

अवर्णान्तादधोभोमगो इत्येभ्यश्च परस्य पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य वकारस्य यकारस्य च अधि परे ग्लुक् भवति ।

46) Ibid - Rule 1.1.154

– – – अचि परे ग्लुक् । गकारानुबन्धो लोपः अस्यष्टश्च । अव्यक्तश्रुतिश्चासन्नादेशौ भवतः ।

47) Ibid . *Amoghavṛtti* on 1.1.155.

अवर्णात् परस्य पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य वकारस्य यकारस्य च उज्झर्जिते ऽ चि परे ग्लुगस्पष्टश्चादेशौ वा भवतः ।

48) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S., Banārasa, 1952, on the rule 8.4.50., P . 769

त्रिप्रभृतिषु वर्णेषु संयुक्तेषु शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन द्वित्वं न भवति ।

49) Abhyankara, K.V., '*Vyā.MB.*'-Vol.II, D.E.S.,Poona, 1954, P.123.

50) *BM.* ( on *Si.kau* ) Vol . I, on P.A. 8.4.5.2, P. 72.

दीर्घात्परस्य यरो द्वित्वं केषाञ्चिदाचार्याणां मते न भवति । मतान्तरे तु भवति ।

51) '*Kāśikā*' - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 7.3.49, P . 665

52) '*Kathāsaritsāgara*' - Taraṅga 4. Verse 20 to 25.

 – – – एवं व्याडीन्द्रदत्ताभ्यां सह तत्र वसन्क्रमात् ।

प्राप्रो ऽ हं सर्वविद्यानां पारमुत्क्रान्तशैशवः ।

 – – –

अथ कालेन वर्षस्य शिष्यवर्गो महान् अभूत् ।

तत्रैकः पाणिनिर्नाम जडबुद्धितरो ऽ भवत् ।

 – – – जिताः पाणिनिना सर्वे मूर्खीभूताः वयं पुनः ।

53) '*Kāśikā*' - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 6.1.123, P . 492

स्फोटायनग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । विभाषेत्येव हि वर्तते । व्यवस्थितविभाषेयम् । तेन 'गवाक्ष' इत्यत्र नित्यमवङ् भवति । वातायने नित्यं भवति, अन्यत्र विभाषा ।

*Critical Studies on MB* . P . 237 . 165 . 2.5

५४) दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि –

 - P. A. 4.1.59.

 एकाच्च प्राचाम् –

 - P. A. 5.3.94.

55) *BM.* ( on *Si.kau* ) Vol . I, on P.A. 6.1.123, P . 103

स्फोटायनस्य ऋषेः मते अवङ् । अन्यस्य तु न । ततश्च विकल्पः सिद्धः ।

56) *TB* . Ibid.

विभाषानुवृत्तेः स्फोटायनग्रहणं पूजार्थम् ।

57) 1)    *Rgveda* - I . 90 . 5

उत नो धियो गो अग्राः ।

2)    *Rgveda* - I . 112 . 18

गच्छथो विवरे गो अर्णसः ।

See also - *Rgveda* - X . 38.2., II . 34.12., X . 76.3.

58) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa, 1952, rule 6.3.61, P . 563.

गालवग्रहणं पूजार्थम्। अन्यतरस्यामिति हि वर्तते। व्यवस्थितविभाषेयम् ।

59) *BM* . ( on *Si.kau* ) Vol . II . P . 244.

ननु गालवग्रहणस्य विकल्पार्थकत्वं किं न स्यादित्यतः आह – अन्यतरस्यामिति

अनुवृत्तेः ।

60) See Ref. No. 1.

61) *Vyā.MB.* Vol.III . '*Pradīpa*' - P . 243.

केवलं गालवः स्मर्तृत्वेन निर्दिष्टो ऽ स्य शास्त्रस्य प्रामाण्यं प्रतिपादयितुमिति

पूजार्थमाचार्यग्रहणम् ।

62) *BM* . ( on *Si.kau*. Vol . I.) on the rule P. A. 7.1.74, P . 333.

पुंवद्वेति गालवग्रहणादिति भावः ।

63) *Vyā.MB.* Vol . III . P . 70

वतिनिर्देशोऽयं कामचारश्च । वतिनिर्देशे वाक्यशेषं समर्थयितुम् । तद्यथा उशीनर-

वन्मद्रेषु यवाः । सन्ति न सन्ति इति । एवमिहापि पुंवद् भवति पुंवत्र भवतीति

वाक्यशेषं समर्थयिष्यामहे ।

64) *Rgveda* - I . 33.7.

त्वमेतान् रुदतो जक्षतश्च - - - ।

65) *Rgveda* - X . 40.10.

जीवं रुदन्ति वि मयन्ते अध्वरे ।

66) Sarma, B. R., '*Jai.Upa.Brā.*' K. S. V. Tirupati. 1967.P . 38.

न ह्येतं जातं च रोदन्ति । २.२

67) *Śa.Brā.* 6.1.3.10

यदरोदीत् - तस्माद्रुद्रः ।

68) *Chān.Upa.* 3.15.2.

स य एतमेवं - - - न पुत्ररोद रोदिति सोऽहमेनमेवं  - - - ।

69) *Tai.Saṁ.* 1.5.1.1.

सौंऽरोदीद्यदरोदीत् तद्द्रस्य रुद्रत्वं - - -.।

70) Vasu, S. C. '*Aṣṭādhyāyī*'- Vol.II, MBP.Patana,1962, P.1449.

71) *TB.* ( on *Si.kau.* Vol . IV .) P . 467.

यद्यपि नयद्वयं त्यक्त्वा 'गार्ग्यादीनामेवेति' नियमो व्याख्यातुं शक्यते तथापि 'गार्ग्यादीनामुदात्तदिपरमेव'इति विपरीतनियमशङ्कां वारयितुं नञ्द्वयोपादानम्।

72) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 8.4.67. P . 772.

उदात्तउदयो यस्मात् उदात्तोदय उदात्तपर इत्यर्थः । - - -उदात्तपरस्येति वक्तव्ये
उदयग्रहणं मङ्गलार्थम् । अनेकाचार्यसंकीर्तनं पूजार्थम् ।

73) *Vyā.MB.* ( Vol . I.) on the rule 1.1.1, P . 110

मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते वीरपुरुषकाणि च भवन्ति आयुष्मत्पुरुषकाणि
चाध्येतारश्च सिद्धार्था यथा स्युरिति ।

So also it is said,

मङ्गलादीनि मङ्गलमध्यानि मङ्गलान्तानि च शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते ।

As 'Pāṇini' uses the word 'Vṛddhi' in the beginning, he uses
the word 'Udaya' at the end.

74) Sköld, Hannes, '*Papers on 'Pāṇini' and Indian grammar in
general*'. ( as quoted by Limaye, V.P., '*Critical studies on the
Mahāvibhāṣyā*'. P. 774.)

75) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 7.2.63. P . 642.

- -सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः । - -तदयमर्थात् पूर्वयोर्योगयोर्विकल्पः ।

76) *Udyota* . *Vyā.MB.* ( Vol . III.) P . 145.

भारद्वाजस्य मतम् - पेचिथ । पपिथेतीद् भवत्येव । अन्येषां तु मतम् - पपक्थ,
पपाथेत इति भावः ।

77) Ayyar, Dikṣitar, '*Bhāradvāja - śikṣā*', B. O. R. I. 1938.

78) *Kāśikā* - C.S.S. Banārasa. 1952, on the rule 1.2.25. P . 31-32

न क्त्वा सेडिति प्रतिषेधे प्राप्ते कित्वं विकल्प्यते । – – –

काश्यपग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । वेत्येव हि वर्तते ।

79) Thieme, P. '*Pāṇini and the Ṛk - prātiśākhya*'. I. H. Q. Vol.V. 1937,P.335. Everybody knows that there are cases where such signification is impossible e.g. 'Kāśyapasya' in 'Pāṇini' 1.2.25., 'Āpiśali' in 6.1.92., 'Gālavasya' in 6.3.61. cannot have been meant to intimate optional validity of the rule in question.

80) Limaye, V. P. '*Critical Studies on the Mahābhāṣya*', V.V.R.I., Hosiarpur, 1974, P.77, 201-21.

'न दक्षिणाः पृच्छेद्' इति ह स्माह शाट्यायनिः, विक्रमस्यै तद्रूपमिति । 'पृच्छेद्' इति ह स्माह ताण्ड्यः एतत्फलो वै यज्ञो यद्दक्षिणेति । वाक्यद्वयेऽपि आचार्यग्रहणं पूजार्थमेव ।

'भवत्रात ' --

on *J.Ś.S.* ( C. 1. 1).

81) *Kāśikā* - C.S.S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 6.1.92, P.486.

ऋकारलृकारयोः सावर्ण्यविधिरिति ऋतीति लृकारोऽपि गृह्यते । आपिशालिग्रहणं पूजार्थम् वेति ह्युच्यत एव ।

82) See Ref.No. (79).

83) *Vyā.MB.* ( Vol . VII ), D. E. S. Poona. 1954, P.132-133.

84) Limaye, V. P. '*Critical Studies on the Mahābhāṣya*', V.V.R.I., Hosiarpur, 1974, 125 - 11-12, P . 525.

आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याडीयगौतमीयाः ।

85) References according to 'Kielhorn's' Edition of Vyā.MB.

अ ) पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम्, आपिशलं काशकृत्स्नम् ।

ब ) पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वा आपिशलमधीत इति – – – आपिशलमधीते ब्राह्मणी आपिशला ब्राह्मणी ।

क ) तथा चापिशलेर्विधिः । एवं च कृत्वाऽऽपिशलेराचार्यस्य विधिरुपपन्नो भवति।

86) Bhartṛhari, - '*Mahābhāṣya-Dīpikā*', B.O.R.I., Poona, 1985,

अ ) आपिशलिस्तु न्यङ्क्वोर् नैच्भावं शास्ति ।

इह त्रदादीनि आपिशलिः किमादीति अस्मत्पर्यन्तानि ततः पूर्वपराधरेति।

Durgasimha, *Kātantravṛtti* - 1.2.1

ब) तथाऽऽपिशलीयश्लोकः -

आगमोनुपघातेन विकारश्चोपमर्दनात् ।

आदेशस्तु प्रसङ्गेन लोपः सर्वापकर्षणात् ॥

Helaraja, '*Commentry on Vākyapadīya*' Trivendrum edition 1942, 3.14.56. P.242.

क) - - - आपिशलः काशकृत्स्नाश्च सूत्रमेत्राधीयते ।

87) Sarup, L., '*Commentry of Nirukta*' Punjab University, Lahore, 1934, P.15.

१) महेश्वर -

शास्त्रकृतो योगश्च । शास्त्रकृतश्च आपिशले: पाणिनेर्वा - - -।

निरुक्त - १.२

Sarup, L., '*Nikruta bhāṣyateekā*'.Vol.II, Punjab University, Lahore, 1934. (Ref to Skandamaheśvara) P.22

स्कन्दमहेश्वर -

उषिजिघर्ती छान्दसौ धातु, व्याकरणस्य शाखान्तरे आपिशलादौ स्मरणात्।

Sāyaṇa On *Ṛgveda* - I . 35.9.

ऋणु गतौ । तनादित्वात् उः । तनादिषु करोतेरेव गुणो नान्येषामिति आपिशलिमतेन गुणाभावः ।

88) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 6.1.130. P . 493.

चाक्रवर्मणग्रहणं विकल्पार्थं, तदुपस्थिते निवृत्त्यर्थम् । अनुपस्थिते प्राप्त्यर्थमित्यु भयत्रविभाषेयम् ।

89) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 8.3.20. P . 742.

नित्यार्थोऽयमारम्भः । गार्ग्यग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । योऽयमलघुप्रयत्नस्य विकल्पेन लोपः क्रियते सोऽनेन निवर्त्यते । लघुप्रयत्नतरस्तु भवत्येव यकार: ।

90) *BM.* ( *Si.kau.* Vol . II ) on P.A. 5.2.112, P . 30.

सेनको नाम आचार्यः । अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणानुवृत्त्यैव विकल्पसिद्धेरिति भावः ।

91) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952. on the rule 8.3.22. P . 742.

सर्वेषां ग्रहणं शाकटायनस्यापि लोपो यथा स्यात् ; लघुप्रयत्नतरो मा भूदिति।

92) *Tai.Saṁ.* - 3.2.5.4.

अग्रिस्तत् -
*Tai.Saṁ.* - 1.1.14.5
अग्रिष्टत् -
*Vs* . 12.32.
अर्चिभिष्ट्वम् -
*Tai.Saṁ.* - 3.5.6.2.
अग्रिस्तेऽग्रम् -

93) *Tai.Saṁ.* - 7.4.11.1
*Kāṭhaka* - 33.3.
*Pai. Saṁ.* 5.16.8.

94) Abhyankara, K. V., '*Vyā.MB.*' Vol .VII, D. E. S. Poona, 1954, P.123.

95) Ibid . P . 18.

96) 'Śāṁkhāyana Brāhmaṇa', 'Ānandāśrama'. Poona, 1911, 7.6, P.25.

तस्मादुदीच्यां दिशि प्रज्ञाततरा वागुद्यते । उदञ्च उ एव यन्तिशिक्षितुम् । यो वा तत आगच्छति तस्य वा शुश्रूषन्ते ।

97) *Kāśikā*, C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, ( cf. 1.2.75) P . 27.

प्रागुदञ्चौ विभजते हंसः क्षीरोदके यथा ।

विदुषां शब्दसिद्ध्यर्थं सा नः पातु इरावती ॥

The other reading in 'Kāśikā' is 'śarāvati'

( शरावती )

98) *AB.* 8.19.

तस्मादस्यां ध्रुवायां मध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिशि ये के च कुरुपञ्चालानां राजानः-।

Sāyaṇa -

मध्यमा दिक् मध्यमप्रदेशः । स प्राच्यादिभिः सर्वाभिरपेक्षितत्वेन ध्रुवो भवति तदपेक्षयैव पूर्वा पश्चिमा इत्यादि व्यवहारः । स च देशः वैदिकानामाश्रयः ।

99) '*Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*' 1.2.10.

ते इमे एषु कुरुपञ्चालेषु अङ्गमगधेषु काशिकौशलेषु शाल्वमत्स्येषु सवशोशीनरेषु उदीच्येषु अन्नमदन्ति ।

100) Bhadakamakara, H. M., '*Nirukta*' (Vol.I) Bombay Sanskrit

and Prakrit Series, Bombay, 1918, P.34 (16)

तद्ध्यैतानि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्ग निपाताश्च ।

101) *BM.* ( *Si.kau.* Vol . II) on P.A. 4.1.43, P . 558.

'अन्यतो डीष्' इति नित्यं डीषि प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थमिदम् । 'अन्यतो डीष्'
इति सिद्धेऽपि प्राचामेव डीष् नान्येषामिति नियमार्थमिदम् ।

102) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 6.3.32. P.556.

103) *Ṛgveda* IV . 6.7.

न मातरापितरा नू चिदिष्टौ ।

104) *Vāja.saṁ* . 6.20.

अनु त्वा मातापितरौ मदन्तु ।

105) *Vāja.saṁ* . 9.19. ( also Tai.saṁ. 1.7.8.3.)

आ मा गन्तां पितरामातरा च ।

आ मा सोमो अमृतत्वेन गम्यात् ।

106) Limaye, V. P. '*Critical Studies on the MB*'. V.V.R.I.
Hoshiarpur, 1974, 436-20 on P. A. 2.2.34 'Nāgoji'- P.131.

आ मा गन्तामित्यादि । यद्यपि तैत्तिरीये माध्यन्दिनशाखायां च पितरा
इत्यादि भिन्नपदत्वेन पदपाठे पठन्ति तथापि शाखान्तरे ऐकपद्येन पाठो भाष्य-
प्रामाण्यात् द्रष्टव्यः । यद्वा पदच्छेदपाठो भ्रान्त्या इति बोध्यम् ।

107) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa, 1952, on the rule 7.3.46, P.664.

108) Vasu, S. C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*'.Vol.I, MBP, Patana,
1962, P. 616-617.

109) Ibid.

110) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S.Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 4.1.130, P.279.

111) Ibid. rule . 4.1.153 . P . 283.

वचनसामर्थ्यादेव प्रत्ययसमावेशे लब्धे आचार्यग्रहणं वैचित्र्यार्थम् ।

112) *BM.* ( on *Si.kau.* Vol . III ) on P.A. 3.1.90, P.626.

प्राचां ग्रहणाद्विकल्पः । तदाह कुष्यति कुष्यते वा पाद इति ।

113) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 3.1.90, P.159.

व्यवस्थितविभाषा चेयम् । तेन लिङ्लिङोः स्यादिविषये च न भवतः ।
चुकुषे पादः स्वयमेव । ररञ्जे वस्त्रं स्वयमेव ।

114)    Ibid - on the rule 4.1.158. P.284.

यदिह वृद्धमगोत्रं शब्दरूपं तस्याऽऽगमार्थमेव ग्रहणम् अन्येषामुभयार्थम् ।

115) *BM.* ( on *Si.kau.* Vol . IV ) on P.A. 3.4.19, P.352.

उदीचां ग्रहणादिति - तेन मेङ् : क्त्वाप्रत्ययस्य विकल्पलाभात् तदभावे याचे: पूर्वकालक्रियावृत्तित्वात् समानकर्तृकयोरिति क्त्वेति भाव: ।

116) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 3.4.19, P.232.

उदीचां ग्रहणात्तु यथाप्राप्तमपि भवति ।

117) *BM.* ( on *Si.kau.* Vol . IV ) on P. A. 3.4.18, P.352.

'ननु उदीचां माङ्ङे व्यतीहारे' इत्युत्तरसूत्रे 'उदीचां' ग्रहणादस्य नित्यत्वा-वश्यकत्वात् प्राचां ग्रहणं व्यर्थमित्यतः आह, प्राचां ग्रहणं पूजार्थमिति।

118) Ibid . TB.

ननु विकल्पार्थमेवास्तु, अलं रुदित्वा, अलं रोदनेनेति रुपद्वयसिद्ध्यर्थमिति चेन्नैवम् । वासरूपन्यायेनैतत् सिद्धे: ।

119) 'Nityānuvāda' is a term from 'Mīmāṁsā' to indicate a general point or instance already implied by a former statement. Thus, the rule, 'one should perform a sacrifice on the earth', additionally implies that it should not be performed in the sea or water. Likewise, these rules for 'Ktvā'-usage from the Northern quarter or the Eastern quarter give additional information, but do not worthily contradict or optionalise the other usage.

120) *BM.* ( on *Si.kau.* Vol . II ), on the rule P. A. 4.1.158, P . 332

चकारादुदीचामिति फिञिति चानुवर्तत इति भाव: ।

*TB* . Ibid.

उदीचामित्यनुवर्तनाद्विकल्प: फलित: ।

121) *Vyā.MB.*- Vol.III, D.E.S. Poona, 1954, on the rule 8.2.92. P.425.

122) Vasu, S.C. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* (Vol.II ) MBP. Patana.1962, on the rule 8.2.86. P.1584.

123) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa, 1952, on the rule 4.1.160, P.284.

उदीचां प्राचामन्यतरस्यां बहुलमिति सर्व एते विकल्पार्थास्तेषामेकेनैव सिद्ध्यति तत्र आचार्यग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । बहुलग्रहणं वैचित्र्यार्थम् । क्वचिन्नभवत्येव दाक्षि:, प्लाक्षि: ।

124) Ibid . on the rule 5.3.94. P . 433.

प्राचाङ् ग्रहणं पूजार्थ, विकल्पोऽनुवर्त्तते ।

125) *TB.* ( *Si.kau* Vol . II) P.626.

प्राचां ग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । विकल्पोऽनुवर्तत एव ।

126) *BM* . ( Ibid ).

महाविभाषयैव सिद्धे प्राचां ग्रहणं न कर्तव्यमिति भाष्यम् ।

127) Vasu, S. C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*' ( Vol.II ) MBP, Patana. 1962, P.973.

128) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 5.3.1, P.418.

इतः परं स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्ययास्तेषु समर्थाधिकारः प्रथमग्रहणं च

प्रतियोग्यपेक्षत्वान्नोपयुज्यत इति निवृत्तम् । वावचनमनुवर्तत एव ।

129) *BM.* ( on *Si.kau.* Vol . II ) on P.A. 5.3.80, P.626.

ठञ्वेत्यतो वेत्यनुवृत्त्यैव सिद्धे प्राचां ग्रहणं व्यर्थमित्यत आह - प्राचां ग्रहणं पूजार्थमिति।

130) Vasu, S. C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*' ( Vol.I ), MBP. Patana,1962, P.68.

131) *BM.* ( on *Si.kau.* Vol . II ) on P.A.4.2.120, P.394.

132) Ibid.

प्राचामिति देशविशेषणम्, न तु विकल्पार्थमिति व्याख्यानात् ।

133) Ibid., on P.A. 4.2.139, P.395.

प्राचामिति देशविशेषणम् ।

Ibid., P.398.

कटनगरो नाम प्राच्यो देशः ।

134) Ibid., Vol . IV, on P.A. 6.2.74, P.556.

प्राचां क्रीडायामिति श्रुतयोरेवान्वयसंभवान्मतेनेत्यध्याहारो न युज्यते इति तत्राह प्राग्देशवर्तीनां या क्रीडेति ।

135) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 2.4.60, P.137.

गोत्रविशेषणं प्राग्ग्रहणं, न विकल्पार्थम् ।

136) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 6.3.10, P.552.

- - - तत्र पूर्वेणैव सिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम् । एते च त्रयो नियमविकल्पाः

अत्रेष्यन्ते - कारणाभ्येव प्राचामेव हलादावेति ।

137) *Kāśikā*- C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 4.1.148-149, P.281-282.

138) Vasu, S. C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*', Vol .I, MBP, Patana, 1962, on the rule P.A. 4.1.148. P.682

भागपूर्वपदो वित्तिर्द्वितीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ।

तृतीयस्त्वाकशापेयो गोत्राद्ठग्बहुलं ततः ।

139) *Kāśikā*- C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule P.A. 4.1.148, P.281.

बहुलग्रहणमुपाधिवैचित्र्यार्थम् गोत्रक्रिया इत्यारभ्य चत्वारो योगास्तेषु प्रथमः कुत्सन एव । अन्त्यः सौवीरगोत्रः । मध्यमौ द्वयोरपि । तदेतद् बहुलग्रहणाल्लभ्यते ।
This comment indicates that the last rule expects 'gotra' while in the explanation it is stated as 'Sauvīrviṣaye' and not as 'Sauvīrgotre'.

सौवीरविषये - सौवीरगोत्रे ।

140) Vasu, S.C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*', Vol.I, MBP, Patana, on the rule 4.1.149, P.682.

यमुन्दश्च सुयामा च वार्षायणिः फिञः स्मृताः ।

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां द्वौ योगौ शब्दवित् स्मरेत् ॥

141) *Kāśikā* - C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule 2.4.66, P.138.

भरताः प्राच्या एव, तेषां पुनर्ग्रहणं ज्ञापनार्थम्, अन्यत्र प्राग्ग्रहणे भरतग्रहणं न भवतीति, तेन 'इञः प्राचाम्' इति भरतानां युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग्नभवति । आर्जुनिः पिता, आर्जुनायनः पुत्रः ।

142) Vasu, S.C., '*The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*' Vol.II, MBP, Patana, 1962, rule 8.3.75, P.1635

143) Ibid - Translation of the rule P. A. 8.3.75.

144) *Kāśikā* - C.S.S. Banarasa. 1952, on the rule P.A. 8.3.75, P.753.

भरतग्रहणं प्राच्यविशेषणम् ।

卐

# Chapter - 6
# Miscellaneous Words

This chapter deals with certain words which are supposed to be option - indicative - words. Each word has four or five rules to its credit. The important words are as follows-

        a)  'Ubhayathā'

        b)  'Bhāṣāyām'

        c)  'Anyebhyo ṣ pi Dṛśyante'

        d)  'Itarebhyo ṣ pi Dṛśyante'

        e)  'Nigame'

        f)  'Chandasi'

        g)  'Prāyeṇa'

The last word, i. e. 'Prāyeṇa' has occurred only once in whole of the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī'.( P.A.3.3.118 and once it is carried over in P.A. 3.3.120.). Every word will be discussed one by one and most of the rules will be taken into consideration employing these words and at the end of the discussion observations will be put forth. The discussion begins with the word 'Ubhayathā'.

    a) 'Ubhayathā'

      1. 'Chandasyubhayathā' - P. A. 3.4.117

This rule deals with the 'Sārvadhātuka' and the 'Ārdhadhātuka' affixes. It states that, in the 'Veda' this distinction as 'Sārvadhātuka and the Ārdhadhātuka', which is fixed otherwise, is not always maintained and the affixes are employed without any fixed rule or regulation.

      A) Sometimes the affixes having an indicatory 'Ś' and the 'tiṄ' ˢ ( i.e. 'tiṄ' ˢ and 'Śit's' ) are treated as if they are 'Ārdhadhātuka ˢ' (though the rule 'Tiṅśit Sārvadhātukam' P.A.3.4.113 ordains 'Sārvadhātuka' designation to them). This point will be clear by the example : -

'Vardhantu Tvā Suṣṭutayaḥ' [1]

The form 'Vardhantu' is used as a form of 'LOṬ' which actually should be 'Vardhayantu', according to the rules of grammar. But in the formation of the form 'Vardhantu' the affix 'LOṬ' is treated as 'Ārdhadhātuka' (which is grammatically designated as 'Sārvadhātuka' by P. A. 3.4.113 and consequently there is elision of 'ṆiC' by 'Ṇeraniti' P. A.6.4.51) but the proper form 'Vardhayantu' retains the suffix 'ṆiC'. Here is the process to arrive at these two forms i.e. 'Vardhantu and Vardhayantu'

## *Vardhantu*

Vṛdh

| Vṛdh | + LOṬ | ('Loṭ Ca' | ......................... - P. A. 3.3.162) |
|------|-------|-----------|-----------------------------------------|
| Vṛdh | + la | ('Halantyam' | ............................. - P. A. 1.3.3) |
| | | ('Upadeśe ç janu' | ......................... - P. A. 1.3.2) |
| Vṛdh | + Śap + La | ('Kartari Śap' | ................. - P. A. 3.1.68) |
| Vṛdh | + Śap + ṆiC + Zi | ('Tipas' | ................... - P. A. 3.4.78) |
| | | ('Hetumati ca' | ....... - P. A. 3.1.26.) |
| Vṛdh | + A + I + Anti | ('Zo ç ntaḥ' | ............... - P. A. 7.1.3.) |
| Vardh | + A + θ + Antu | ('Ṇeraniti' | ............. - P. A. 6.4.51), |
| | | ('Eruḥ' | ................... - P. A. 3.4.86) |
| Vardh a antu | | ('Ato guṇe' | ............. - P. A. 6.1.97) |

'Vardhantu'

In the form '*Vardhayantu*'

First five stages are the same as the previous form shows - thus,

| Vṛdh | + A + I | + Anti ('Zo ç ntaḥ' | ....... - P. A. 7.1.3.) |
|------|---------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Vṛdh | + a + y | + Antu ('Eko Yaṇachi' | ... - P.A.6.1.77) |
| | | ('Eruḥ' | ............. - P. A. 3.4.86) |
| Vardh | + A + Yantu' - | | |

'Vardhayantu'

The difference in the two forms lies in the elision of 'ṆiC'. In the form 'Vardhantu', 'ṆiC' is elided and in the formation of 'Vardha-

yantu', 'ṆiC' is retained. The rule 'Ṇeraniti' can be applied only if the affix is treated as an 'Ārdhadhātuka'.

B) Sometimes the 'Ārdhadhātuka' - affixes are also treated as 'Sārvadhātuka' - affixes and one gets the forms like 'Viśṛṇvire'. Here, the affixes of the 'LIṬ' are treated as 'Sārvadhātuka' - affixes and thus the forms with the 'Vikaraṇa Śnu' (where 'U' is changed to 'V',) are obtained.

'*Viśṛṇvire*'

| Vi + | Śṛu + | Śnu | + | Zi |
|------|-------|-----|---|-----|
| Vi + | Śṛ + | Nu | + | Ire |

('Liṭastazayoreśirec'- P. A. 3.4.81)
('Śruvaḥ Śṛ Ca' - P. A. 3.1.74)

| Vi + | Śṛ + | Nv | + | Ire |
|------|-------|-----|---|-----|

('Huśnuvoḥ Sārvadhātuke'- P.A. 6.4.87)

| Vi + | Śṛ + | Ṇv | + | Ire |
|------|-------|-----|---|-----|

('Raṣābhyām No Ṇaḥ Samānapade'- P.A.8.4.1)

'*Viśṛṇvire*'

The point is if the affix 'Ire' is an 'Ārdhadhātuka' (as it normally is) 'Śnu' would not have come because 'Śruvaḥ Śṛ Ca' would not have applied and though 'Śnu' would have come 'Huśnuvoḥ Sārvadhātuke' would not have been applied and we would have the form (as a hypothetical one)

'*Viśruvire*'

| Vi | + | śṛu | + | ire |
|----|---|------|---|-----|
| Vi | + | śṛuv | + | ire |

('Iko Yaṇaci' -P.A.6.1.77)

'*Viśruvire*'

If the rule 'śruvaḥ śṛ ca' is to be applied to the 'Ārdhadhātuka' -affix also, then one can have the form 'Viśṛṇuvire' (because 'Huśnu- voḥ - - -' will not be applied).

| Vi | + | Śṛ | + | Ṇu+ | Ire |
|----|---|-----|---|------|------|
| Vi | + | Śṛ | + | Ṇ + | Uvaṅ + Ire | ('Aci Śnudhātu'-P.A. 6.4.77) |
| Vi | + | Śṛ | + | Ṇ + | Uv + | Ire |

Viśṛṇuvire          ('Raṣābhyām No Ṇaḥ Samānpade' - P. A. 8.4.1.)

This form explains why the rule 'Hu Śnuvoḥ - -' is framed when 'Iko Yaṇaci' is already there. The rule 'Aci Śnudhatu' - - ordains 'iyAṄ' and uvAṄ ' for the vowel 'U' of 'Śnu' when the 'Ārdhdhātuka'-affix follows; but if 'Ire' is treated as 'Sārvadhā- tuka', 'Iko yaṇaci' brings 'Yaṇ'. This 'Yaṇ' which is brought by 'Iko Yaṇaci' gets debarred by 'Aci Śnudhātu' - (this being a special rule). Thus, to bring back that 'Yaṇ' which is debarred by 'Aci Śnudhātu- - -', the rule 'Huśnuvoḥ' - - -, is framed.

C) The affixes of 'Āśīrliṅ' are sometimes treated as 'Sārva- dhātuka' -affixes and sometimes as the 'Ārdhadhātuka' -affixes. The form 'Upastheyām' can be shown as the example.[2] Here, by treating the affix as 'Sārvadhātuka' there is elision of 'sa' in the 'Liṅ' (P.A. 7.2.79) and by treating it again as 'Ārdhadhātuka' the 'ā' of the root 'Sthā' is changed into 'e' (P. A. 6.4.67) and the form is 'Upastheyām'. Here is the process to arrive at the form : -

Upa + Sthā + LIṄ
('Vidhinimantraṇā ' P. A. 3.3.61)
Upa + Sthā + la
('Halantyam' - P. A.1.3.3)
('Upadeśe ʗ janu' - P. A. 1.3.2)
Upa + Sthā + Mip
('Tiptas' - P. A. 3.4.198)
Upa + Sthā + Am
('Tasthastamipām'- P. A. 3.4.101.)
Upa + Sthā + Śap + Am
('Kartari Śap'- P. A. 3.1.68.)
Upa + Sthā + Yāsuṭ + A + Am
('Yāsuṭparsmaipadeṣu' - P. A. 3.4.103)
Upa + Sthā + Yā + Ām
('Liṅaḥ Salopo ʗ nantyasya'- P. A. 7.2.79)
Upa + Sthā + Yām
('Erliṅi' - P. A. 6.4.67.)
Upastheyām

Before closing this discussion some important observations are to be noted. The forms 'Vardhantu' and 'Vardhanti' ('LOṬ and LAṬ' respectively) have more occurrances than the casual forms 'Vardhayantu' and 'Vardhayanti'. Moreover, these forms also present the casual meaning though 'NIC' is not seen. The cases attested for this statement are as follows : -

Vardhantu      -     Ṛv. IV. 53.7.[3]

Kṣayam   Vardhatu  Vardhayatu            ('Sāyaṇa') causal.

Vardhatu :      -  .  Ṛv. V . 36.5.

Tvām Vardhatu Vardhayatu         ·  ·     ('Sāyaṇa') causal.

Vardhantu      -    Ṛv. VII . 99.7.[4]

Vardhantu   Tvām   Vardhayantu      ('Sāyaṇa') causal.

Vardhayantu    -   Ṛv. II . 11.11.[5]

Somam      Tvā      Vardhayantu    ('NiC' is clearly seen).

Vardhanti       -   Ṛv. I . 65.2.[6]

Vardhayanti   Pravardhayanti          ('Sāyaṇa') causal.

Vardhanti      -   Ṛv. III . 5.8.

Vardhanti   Vardhayanti Ghṛtenodakena ('Sayaṇa') causal.

Vardhanti      -   Ṛv. VIII . 2.29.

Vardhanti     Vardhayanti          ('Sāyaṇa') causal.

In this 'ṛc' it is found that not only the forms of 'LOṬ' and 'LAṬ' show 'NiC' -elision but even the active form 'Vṛdhantaḥ' shows the same tendency and this form is explained as 'Vardhayantaḥ' by 'Sāyaṇa'. These examples therefore show that the tendency of eliding the causal suffix 'NiC' was later and originally the forms were used along with 'NiC' (like 'Vardhayantu, Vardhayanti' etc.). Reason for this is probably the metrical purpose. Efforts have been made to trace these forms in the prose. It is found that the forms without 'NiC' are not seen in the prose but only in the metri-

cal constructions and as these constructions show the causual mean-
ing of the forms like 'Vardhantu' one has to accept that separate
mention without casual meaning is not found. For example-
Vardhatu - 'Ā.ŚS'. 4.4.4  = Ṛv.IV . 53.7          ( quoted above )
Vardhantu - 'Tai.Sam'. 2.2.12.5 = Ṛv.VII . 99.7 · ( quoted above )
· 'Mai.Sam' . 4.10.1 = 'ŚŚS' . 9.18.1 = 'Agnāviṣṇu Sajoṣase
Mā Vardhantu' ('ŚŚS' ) where 'Vardhantu = Vardhayantu' and
the line also shows the metrical construction. The cases like 'Ā.ŚŚS'.
2.8.3., 'Pai.Sam.' 13.14.16, 'Tai.Sam'.4.7.1.1 are also to be studied
for this purpose. In short, it is observed that the form 'Vardhayantu'
was the original one and later it was reduced to 'Vardhantu' for the
convenience of metre.

　　　 2) 'Chandasi Ubhayathā' - P. A. 6.4.5

· 　　 This rule deals with the pronounciation of the words
'Tisṛcatasṛ' when the genetive plural suffix 'Nām' follows. The
'Anuvṛtti' of the word 'Tisṛcatasṛ' is from the earlier aphorism 'Na
Tisṛcatasṛ' P. A. 6.4.4. The rule states that in the 'Veda' the final
of 'Tisṛ' and 'Catasṛ' are found both ways, i.e. long and short, be-
fore the genetive plural suffix 'Nām' follows. The 'Kāśikā', refers
to the word 'Dhātṛṇām' and says that the followers of the 'Taittirīya
Samhitā' use only short.[7]

　　 (a) The Vyā.MB. excludes this rule from its comments but
the 'Kāśikā' adds[7] that the 'Ṛgveda' shows the tendency to pronounce
the 'Ṛ' always long. The examples show that the words 'Tisṛ, Catasṛ'
do not occur in the 'Tai.Samhitā' at all, but the tendency of retaining
the short can be found in other examples, that is why probably the
'Kāśikā' resorts to other examples.

　　 (b) Some 'Mantra '' from the 'Tai.Sam'. which employ the
word 'Pitṛṇām' show the 'Ṛkāra' short.

　　　　　　　 'Tai.Samhitā'

|  |  |
|---|---|
| 1.3.1.2 | 3.3.5.1 |
| 1.3.6.1 | 4.4.9.1 |
| 1.6.7.1 | 6.1.1.3 |

These 'Mantra 5' from 'Tai.Sam.' have not been taken from the 'Rgveda' and the 'Rkara' before 'Nām' is short. Here applies the comment by 'Kāśikā'.

(c) It is interesting to note that in the 'Tai.Sam' itself, there is one 'Mantra' [8] where 'Rkara' from the 'Pitṝnām' is long, but that 'Mantra' is taken from the 'Rgveda'. Thus, it can be said that to preserve the Rgvedic tradition as it is (by oral tradition mainly) the long 'Rkāra' is kept as long and not made short. This example is unique and is to be taken as an 'Apavāda'.

(d) This tendency of shortening is not only followed by the 'Tai.sam' but by 'Mai.Sam' also. The 'Mai.Sam'. 1.10.3 is a 'Mantra [9]' which is taken from the 'Rgveda' but the 'Rkāra' is made short. Thus, it is necessary to amend the comment by the 'Kāśikā', 'Taittirīyāstu Hrasvameva Paṭhanti' by adding the word 'Maitrā-yanīyāḥ' also.

(e) For the clear understanding of this rule a group of rules should be studied together.

(i) 'Nāmi' ('Dīrghaḥ Rkārāntasya Aṅgasya' )                    P. A. 6.4.3.

(ii) 'Na Tisṛ Catasṛ' ('Dīrghaḥ Rkārāntasya Aṅgasya Nāmi' )
P.A. 6.4.4.

(iii) 'Chandsyubhayathā' ('Dīrghaścādīrghaśca - Nāmi' ) P. A. 6.4.5.

(iv) 'Nṛ Ca' ('Nāmi Vā Dīrhaḥ' )                    P. A. 6.4.6.

This arrangement of rules explains the following points.

(i) The words like 'Pitṛ, Dhātṛ' are never short in the language and in the veda also (as no word like 'Bhāṣāyām or Chandasi' is used) before the genetive plural suffix 'Nām'. See - 'Rgveda X. 57.3.[10] ('Pitṝnām' ) and 'Rgveda' X. 128.7.[11] ('Dhātṝnām' ). But about the word 'Nṛ' (though 'R' - ending) the case is different. The word 'Nṛ' shows both the forms (i.e. long and short) as 'Nṛṇām' ( Rgveda. I. 43.7, I. 48.4 )[12] and also as 'Nṝnām' ('Pai.Sam.' 2.10.4.)[13]. Now, this tendency of 'Ubhayathā' is found in the Vedic literature only or in the language, is to be decided. As 'Pāṇini' has formed a new rule for the word 'Nṛ' and has put the rule after 'Chandasyubha-

yathā' it can be said that he expects the 'Anuvṛtti' of the word 'Chandasi' in the rule 'Nṛ Ca', otherwise he would have adjusted the word 'Nṛ' in the rule 'Nāmi' itself. The examples given for the word 'Nṝṇām and Nṛṇām' also support the point because they are from Vedic literature only. The construction of the rule 'Nṛ Ca' ('Vā Nāmi Dīrhaḥ') shows that 'Hrasva' was the original tendency and later it was made 'Dīrgha'. As the 'Ṛgveda' shows the word 'Nṛṇām' with short 'Ṛ' it can be safely said that orginally 'Ṛkāra' in 'Nṛṇām' was short and made it long later on.

The important point is about 'Tisṛcatasṛ'. The words 'Tisṛcatasṛ' are never long in the language before the genetive plural suffix 'Nām' as the rule 'Na Tisṛcatasṛ' states. In the 'Chandas' these are found in both ways i. e. as short and long also. With reference to the word 'Tisṛṇām' both forms are found - ( i.e. short and long 'Ṛ' ).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Mai.Saṁhitā.* | 4.5.9 [14] | - | short | 'ṛ' |
| *Kāṭhaka.Saṁ.* | 27.9[15] | - | short | 'ṛ' |
| *Ṛgveda* | V . 69.2[16] | - | long | 'ṝ' |
| | VIII 19.37[17] | - | long | 'ṝ' |
| | VIII 101.6[18] | - | long | 'ṝ' |

In the case of 'Catasṛ' only shortened form is found[15] and a form with long 'Ṛ' is not found. Thus, it is to be noted that 'Chandasi Ubhayathā' can be accepted as a general tenedency but long 'Ṛkāra' in 'Catasṛṇām' is not found. (Possibly at 'Pāṇini's' time there were some 'Saṁhitā ' showing this long form but they are not available now). One cannot understand why 'Pāṇini' picks up these two rules only. Probably because, other words show both the forms either in 'Chandas' or in the language but these two forms are never found with long 'Ṛ' in the language, which is the general tendency of other 'Ṛ' - ending words. Thus, according to the observations noted above the order of the rules (and the structure of the rules changed slightly) should be as follows : -

1)Nāmi ('Dīrghaḥ Ṛkārāntasya Aṅgasya')

2) Na Nṛtisṛcatasṛ ('Dīrghaḥ Nāmi' - 'Nṛ' short being original.)

3) Ṛt Chandasyubhayathā ('Dīrghaścādīrghaśca' )-as we find in 'Pitṛ' the 'Ṛkāra' in both ways, ( In the '*Ṛgveda* - long form of 'Ṛkāra', is found and in the '*Tai.Sam* and the *Mai.Sam*', short form of 'Ṛkāra' is found) 'Nṛ' is found in both ways, and also 'Tisṛ Catasṛ' is found in both ways. This reconstruction and reordering will help to do away with the rule 'Nṛ Ca' and will explain the point clearly.

3) 'Chandasyubhayathā' - P. A. 6.4.86.

This rule deals with the 'iyAṄ - uvAṄ' substitution. The rule states that in the 'Chandas' in the case of the stem 'Bhū and Sudhī' sometimes the 'iyAṄ - uvAṄ', are found and sometimes the semi-vowel substitution ( i. e. 'Yaṇādeśa' ).[19]

The root 'Bhū' and the word 'Sudhī' would actually come under the province of the rule 'Iko Yaṇaci' P. A. 6.1.77 when they are followed by a vowel-beginning affix. The rule 'Na Bhūsudhiyoḥ' P.A.6.4.85 states the negation of 'Yaṇādeśa'. The rule 'Aci Śnudhātu' P. A. 6.4.77 ordains 'iyAṄ - uvAṄ' for the vowel 'U' of the root 'Bhū'. In the forms of 'Sudhī' also 'iyAṄ is seen. This rule ( cf. 'AṄ' P. A. 6.4.85) negates 'Yaṇādeśa' for 'Bhū and Sudhī' in classical language but in the case of 'Chandas, iyAṄ - uvAṄ' and 'Yaṇādeśca' both are seen (cf. P.A. 6.4.86). Curiously enough the '*Ṛgveda - Samhitā*' shows the forms as 'Vibhvam [20] and Sudhyaḥ [21]' only and not as 'Vibhuvam and Sudhiyaḥ'. Then how to explain this rule? The point of metre can be considered here. In the three cases of 'Vibhvam' (see the Ref.No. 20) the metre is 'Triṣṭup'. If the word 'Vibhvam' is used as it is, the metre will be disturbed because one letter is short but if it is used as 'Vibhuvam' (with 'uvAṄ' ) the metre will be explained properly so the point is, though in the formation, the 'Yaṇādeśa' is seen in the actual recitation, it is recited as if it is 'Uvaṇādeśa'. The word 'Vibhuvam' is not found in the 'Vedāṅga '' also. Thus, 'Pāṇini' uses the word 'Chandasi' ( the Vedic literature in general) and not the particular word as 'Ṛci'.

The rule P. A. 6.4.86 takes care of only two cases (i. e. 'Bhū

and Sudhī' ) but there are some other cases also which show both
the operations i.e. 'Yaṇādeśa and Iyaṅuvaṇādeśa'. A 'Vārttika' on
this rule is to be studied in this connection.[22] It states that in 'Chandas',
there is diversely the substitution of 'iyAṄ and uvAṄ' in the case of
root 'Tan' etc. and both the forms are found as 'Tanvam and
Tanuvam'.[23] The examples are also found as 'Svargo Lokaḥ or
Suvargo Lokaḥ' [24] and 'Tryambakam Yajāmahe' or 'Devam
Tryṛmbakam'.[25] It is very clear that these two forms are alternatives
to each other.

    4) 'Amnarūdharavarityubhayathā Chandasi' - P. A. 8.2.70.

    The rule states that in the 'Chandas' both 'Ru' and 'Ra' are
seen as substituted for the final of 'Amnas, Ūdhas and Avas'. How-
ever, examples for the word 'Amnas' are found in the '*Mai.Saṁ.*[26]'
and in the '*Atharvaveda*'.[27] and not for the word 'Amnar' which is
the optional form. 'Whitney'.[28] has the following observation regard-
ing the word 'Amnas' - The "ptk" expressely prescribes that the
final of 'Amnaḥ' is not convertible into 'r' which seems a plain ac-
knowledgement that at a later period the word was treated as
'Amnaḥ'. The examples for the word 'Ūdhas' and 'Ūdhar' are found
in the '*Kāṭhaka-Saṁhita*.[29]' and in the '*Ṛgveda*.[29]'. The examples of
the use of the word 'Avas and Avar' are found in the '*Ṛgveda*.[30]'.

    5) 'Bhuvaśca Mahāvyāhṛteḥ' ('Chandasi Ubhayathā' ) P.A.
8.2.71.

    In the 'Chandas', 'Ru' and 'Ra' may replace the final of the
word 'Bhuvas' when used as a 'Mahāvyāhṛti'. For the word 'Bhuvas'
the examples are as 'Bhuvari tyantarikṣam' or 'Bhuva Ityantarikṣam'.

    Following are the observations to be noted about the word
'Ubhayathā'.

    (a)    The rules having the word 'Ubhayathā' are five in
number and in all the five cases the word 'Ubhayathā' is accompa-
nied by the word 'Chandasi'. Thus, the usages noted by those rules
get differentiated from that of the classical Sanskrit language.

    (b)    All the five rules employing the word 'Ubhayathā'
are excluded by the '*Vyā.MB.*, *BM.*, and *TB*'.

(c)    These rules deal with the important topics of 'Iyaṅuvaṅ' -substitution, 'Sārvadhātuka and Ardhadhātuka' affixes, the short and long 'Ṛkāra' in the *Ṛgveda* and the other 'Saṁhitā' and also with the words like 'Ūdhan, Ūdhar' etc. and with the 'Mahāvyāhṛtiḥ Bhuvaḥ'.

(d)    The word 'Ubhayathā' means 'in both ways'. When one says that one can operate in both ways, it is implied that the value of both the operations is the same; both types of examples are found in the practice and the frequency or the rareness of usages cannot be decided. In the case of the rule P.A.6.4.5 a point is to be noted. 'Kāśikā' comments that the 'Tai.Sam' shows the tendency of using 'Ṛ' in short but it is observed that the 'Mai.Sam' also shows the same tendency. Thus, it is clear that 'Ṛkāra' is used in both ways; i.e. long and short.

(e)    The option suggested by the term 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā' implies the rare use of the other optional form allowed by the rules employing the term 'Vā' and 'Vibhāṣā'. By the addition of this new form, some word is newly added to the common trend of usage but 'Ubhayathā' is a very clear and free option. It seems that people were using both types of forms quite often. It marks a very simple and lucid state of language. This trend is neither borrowed from any region nor it is due to the influence of some other system of language. The currency gained by one form later caused the other usage to be extinct. In all the cases of the rules employing the word 'ubhayathā' a point is to be marked that the word 'Ubhayathā' is accompanied by the word 'Chandasi'. This, word narrows the scope of the word 'Ubhayathā' and limits it to the Vedic usage.

(f)    As the terminology shows, 'Ubhayathā' is the old and natural option-indicative-word because terms 'Vā and Vibhāṣā' are technically and purposefully used to indicate option while 'Ubhayathā' is a natural expression. The terms 'vā and vibhāṣā' as compared with the word 'Ubhayathā' seem not only to be later but they indicate a more restricted type of option. It is true that the verb 'Vi +

Bhāṣ' has that implication of option but the special group of words, which is used to indicate option and which may be called a terminology of option-indicative-words is the product of the creative wisdom of the grammarian and thus has become artificial. On the contrary, the word 'Ubhayathā' is taken from the day to day language; and is very easy to understand. People, who are unaware of the grammatical terminology also can understand the optional use of the forms which are marked by the word 'Ubhayathā'. Thus, this word tops the rank of the option - indicative - words, better to say, here are the seeds, of the later option - indicative - terminology.

Further, we shall focus our attention on these rules which use the word 'Bhāṣāyām'. Probably, the word is used in contrast with the word 'Saṁhitāyām'. The term 'Bhāṣāyām' would have indicated a very common usage in the language but all the four rules using the word 'Bhāṣāyām' are stated in comparison with the vedic language. In the two cases, their limitation to vedic language is clearly seen and in the other two cases it is to be inferred. There is one more case, in which the word 'Bhāṣāyām' is used by '*Kāśikā*' for the explanation of that rule. In this rule the tendency of 'Chandas and Bhāṣā' (also) is shown in one and the same rule. Three rules out of those four rules are excluded from the '*Vyā.MB*' and though one rule is commented upon, '*Vyā.MB*' did not explain the word 'Bhāṣāyām'. This word does not denote option as the other words from option - indicative terminology denote. It just points out the difference between the vedic language and the common language, prevalent at 'Pāṇini's' time. After the discussion of each rule separately the implication of the word 'Bhāṣāyām' will be ascertained. The implication of the word is not easy to explain because each rule employing this word shows different shades of the meaning.

6) 'Bhāṣāyām Sadavasaśruvaḥ' - P. A. 3.2.108.

This rule comes under the section of affixes to the roots. '*Kāśikā*' explains the word as 'Bhāṣāyām Viṣaye Vā'. The rule states that in the common language the affix 'KvasU' optionally replaces

'Liṭ' after the verb 'Sad, Vas and Śru' with a past signification. The option - indicative - term 'Vā' is carried over from the previous rule 'Liṭaḥ Kānajvā' ( P. A. 3.2.106.) and thus P. A. 3.2.108. becomes an optional rule. 'Vyā.MB.' does not comment on the word 'Bhāṣāyām' specifically though it explains the rule. 'TB.' does not comment on this rule. 'BM'. however remarks that the word 'Vā' is to be connected with 'Liṭ' only and the substitution of 'Liṭ' by 'KvasU' is obligatory and in the alternative 'LUṄ' also can be used because that is orginally stated for the common past. With the affix 'KvasU' a form like 'Upasedivān or Anūṣivān' is obtained and with 'LUṄ' the forms are 'Upāsadat or Anvavātsīt' etc. The implication therefore is one cannot find the forms like 'Upasedivān' in the vedic literature. In the alternative there comes 'LUṄ' by the rule 'LUṄ' - P.A. 3.2.110. and gives the regular reduplicated form.

     7) 'Sakhyaśiśvīti Bhāṣāyām' - P. A. 4.1.62.

     The rule teaches about the two irregular forms in the classical Sanskrit. 'Kāśikā' comments, 'Sakhī Aśiśvī Ityetau Śabdau Ṅīṣantau Bhāṣāyām Nipātyete'. The rule states that the words 'Sakhī and Aśiśvī' are the two irregular forms ending in 'Ṅīṣ' in the classical Sanskrit language. The legitimate forms are 'Sakhā' ( Nom.sing . for the word 'Sakhī' ) and 'Aśiśuḥ' ( for 'Aśiśvi' ). The 'Vyā.MB' does not comment upon the rule. BM.[31] adds that the word 'Bhāṣā' suggests that this is a common tendency in the modern language and is rare in the Veda [ʲ]. This comment by BM. is valid only for this rule and not for other rules using the word 'Bhāṣāyām'. It is interesting to note that the form 'Aśiśviḥ' is found in the Ṛgveda.[32] also. It is obvious that here 'Pāṇini' suffers from the lack of exactitude. The other escape from this problem is to carry 'Ca' from the earlier rule 'Dīrghajihvī Ca Chandasi' - P. A. 4.1.59. But this 'Ca' can not be carried on for the reason that, the purpose of this word is to stop the 'Anuvṛtti' of the word 'Saṁjñāyām' and that is already served by that word. Moreover, that 'Ca' has no reference in the rule 60 and 61, so the word 'Ca' can not be carried over ( 'Anuvṛtta' ). Thus,

the lack of exactitude on the part of 'Pāṇini' is to be accepted. Commenting on the rule P.A.8.2.98 which also employs the word 'Bhāṣāyām', '*Kāśikā*' remarks.[33] that the word 'Bhāṣā' which is used in this rule indicates that the statement is made with reference to the rule P.A.8.2.98. and is not applicable to every rule using the word 'Bhāṣāyām'. In the case of the rule 'Sakhyaśiśvī -' the form 'Aśiśvī' has the sanction of Rigvedic usage also. The forms 'Sakhī' (nom.sing), 'Sakhyaḥ' (nom. plu.) and 'Sakhīm' (accu.sing.) are not found in the vedic literature.

8) 'Sthe Ca Bhāṣāyām' - P. A. 6.3.20.

The rule deals with the preservation of the locative ending. '*Kāśikā*' on this rule comments as follows : - 'Sthe Cottarapade Bhāṣāyām Saptamyā Alugna Bhavati' (i.e. 'Lug Bhavati'). The rule states that the locative ending is not preserved before 'Stha' in the spoken language. Thus, the forms are like 'Kūṭastha'.[34] Neither the '*Vyā.MB*. nor *BM* nor *TB*' comment on this rule but in the vedic literature the locative ending is preserved as 'Kṛṣṇosyākhareṣṭhaḥ'.[35] So also, ample examples are found in the *Ṛgveda* which show both the tendencies, i.e. with elision and without elision.

with elision,

- a) 'Barhiḥṣṭhām' -[36]
- b) 'Rocanasthām' -[37]

without elision,

- a) 'Nareṣṭhāḥ' -[38]
- b) 'Patheṣṭhām' -[39]

If one thinks that the word 'Bhāṣāyām' is used against the word 'Chandasi', the rule 'Sthe Ca Bhāṣāyām' will loose its propriety because in the 'Chandas' also the locative ending is elided, If this word ( i.e. 'Bhāṣāyām' ) is taken to restrict the previous rule for 'Chandas', it will not suit the context ( for the reason that P. A. 6.3.19 is not for 'Chandas'.) Thus, it is difficult to decide the exact meaning of the word 'Bhāṣāyām'. A rule is to be added to clear the point and the additional rule will be 'Chandasyubhayathā'. In

the 'Veda' both the tendencies ( i. e. elision and non-elision.) are seen. The elision or non-elision is also an adjustment for metrical purpose. It seems that in the classical stage, the tendency of keeping the locative ending in the word, died out.

. The other statement by '*Kāśikā*'.[40] that 'Bhāṣā' denotes, 'the rareness of forms in the vedic literature and frequency in the spoken language' is also to be taken cautiously because both the tendencies (i.e.of elision and non-elision.) are found equally in the vedic lite-rature. Thus, it is very clear that every rule, employing the word 'Bhāṣāyām' is to be explained separately and no general interpreta-tion of the word can be given.

9) 'Pūrvam Tu Bhāṣāyām' - P. A. 8.2.98.

The rule deals with the 'Pluta'- accent. '*Kāśikā*' explains the word 'Bhāṣāyām' in the sense of common language. The rule states that, in the common speech the final vowel of the first alternative is only 'Pluta'.

The previous rule 'Vicāryamāṇānām' P.A.8.2.19 states that the last syllable of those sentences is 'Pluta' which denote acts of reflection (or balancing between the two alternatives). This is the tendnecy to utter the last syllables of both the sentences in the 'Pluta' - type and is followed in the Vedic literature. Probably, this is the reference to the language of the 'Yājñik's' [41], but in the spoken language the forms are -'Ahirnu ̤ Rajjurnu'. The last vowel of the first alternative is only 'Pluta'. *BM.*[42] says that the word 'Tu' sug-gests 'Vitarka', 'Tu' has the force of 'only' in this context.

10) 'Kvip Ca' - P. A. 3.2.76.

Here is one more rule which has the word 'Bhāṣāyām'. 'Pāṇini' has not used this word in the formation of the rule but while ex-plaining this rule '*Kāśikā*' uses this word. Perhaps the rule is amended by '*Kāśikā*'. '*Kāśikā*' explains[43] it as follows, 'Sarvadhātubyaḥ Sopapadebhyo Nirupapadebhyaśca Chandasi Bhāṣāyām Ca Kvip Pratyayo Bhavati'. Thus, the forms like 'Usrā' are used. In this con-text, the word 'Bhāṣāyām' is used by '*Kāśikā*' and not by 'Pāṇini', thus is not discussed in details.

Thus, with the help of four rules, i.e. P.A.3.2.108, 4.1.62, 6.3.20 and 8.2.98 one has to decide the meaning of the word 'Bhāṣāyām'. The word 'Bhāṣāyām' is generally translated as 'in the classical Sanskrit' but it must be noted that this is not the language of the classical literature but is spoken Sanskrit language of 'Pāṇini's' time; this 'Bhāṣā' is the 'Vyavahāra bhāṣā'. The absence of the word 'Chandasi' itself implies common language, but all these four rules deal with the usages in Vedic language. Thus, it can be inferred that the word 'Bhāṣāyām' refers to the language or style of those per-form-ing sacrifices that is to say the 'Yājñika '. This language later on merged into the common language though its influence is clearly seen. The examples show that the rules employing the word 'Bhāṣāyām' have no strict application; for the tendencies noted by this word are found in vedic and as well as in common language. Therefore, the answer to this problem is to take the word 'Bhāṣāyām' as referring to the language of the sacrificers. It seems that these were the peculiarities of language at 'Pāṇini's' time but later on they lost the significance. The irregularity of the forms, ('Sakhi, Aśiśvī' etc.) which actually should be found in the Veda ' was seen in the language of the 'Yājñika ' and as this language is later mixed with the common language these peculiarities were noted as of the 'Bhāṣā'. This is the real implication of the word 'Bhāṣā'. These rules clearly indicate the grammatical development of the language and hint at the middle stage between the language of the vedic literature and the language of the common people, which can be specified as the language of the 'Yājñika '.

Further, the rules which employ the words like 'Anyebho ς pi Dṛśyate', 'Itarābhyo ς pi Dṛśyante' etc. are to be studied separately.

11) 'Anyebhyo ς pi Dṛśyante' - P. A. 3.2.75.

This rule deals with the addition of 'manIN, KvanIP, vanIP and VIC' suffixes. 'Kāśikā' explains the rule as follows, 'Anyebhyoς pi Dhātubhyah Anākārantebhyo Manin Kvanip Vanip Ityete Pratyayā Dṛśyante Vicca Apiśabdaḥ Sarvopādhivyabhicārarthaḥ Dṛśigraha-

ṇam Prayogānusaraṇārtham'. This rule states that these affixes, ('manIN' etc.) are seen after other roots also, besides those ending in long 'ā'.

The previous rule'Āto Manin'- - P.A.3.2.74 ordains those affixes after the roots which end in long'ā', when a caseinflected word or an'Upasarga' is in composition. But the word'Api' in the aphorism under discussion i.e. P.A.3.2.75 has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed by the previous aphorism. It comes to mean that these affixes can be employed even when the roots do not end in'ā' or even when they are not in composition with a case inflected word or an'Upasarga'. Thus, the forms are'Dhīvā, Pīvā'. The word'Chandasi' is not understood in this aphorism. The following are the forms with these suffixes -

(a) 'manIN - su + śṛ + manin - 'Suśarmā'

(b) 'kvanIP - prātar + (it)+ van' (P. A. 6.1.71)'Prātaritvā'.

(c) 'vanIP - vi + jan+ van' (P. A. 6.4.41 ) 'Vijāvā'

(d) 'VIC - riṣ + (VIC)( P. A. 7.3.86 ) and (P. A. 6.1.67) - Reṣ

The words 'are seen' in this rule show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when one sees a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes. There cann't be any hard and fast rule about their employment. Certain verbs where the employment of these affixes is seen show the Vedic tendency.

This can be called a free option if it is to be called an option at all, but technically this cannot be called an option or an alternative, where two different forms of the same root, denoting the same meaning are expected. These verbs explain the slang forms. They show the indefiniteness which is of the lowest degree (as compared to the indefiniteness of the word'Bahulam' also). These rules however show the lack of exact number of roots or operations stated in these rules. Thus, they cannot be called the option - indicative - rules.

12) 'Anyeṣvapi Dṛśyate' - P. A. 3.2.101.

The rule deals with the affixing of'Ḍa' after the root'Jan'.

'*Kāśikā*' on this rule comments as follows - 'Anyeṣvapi Upapadeṣu Kārakeṣu Janerḍaḥ Pratyayo Dṛśyate'. The rule states that the affix 'Ḍa' is seen after the root 'Jan' with a past signification though it is in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous rules. The four preceding rules state different conditions for the affixing of 'Ḍa' to the verb 'Jan'. The rules are as follows : -

a) 'Saptamyām Janerḍaḥ' - P. A. 3.2.97.

When the word in composition with it is in the locative case ( the root 'Jan' takes the affix 'Ḍa' so 'Upasare Jātaḥ - Upasarajaḥ' ).

b) 'Pañcamyamajātau' - P. A. 3.2.98.

When the word in composition with it is in the ablative and does not denote a genus 'Samskārāt Jātaḥ - Samskārajaḥ'.

c) 'Upasarge Ca Samjñāyām' - P. A. 3.2.99.

When a preposition is in composition and when the sense is simple appellative[44] .

d) 'Anau Karmaṇi' - P. A. 3.2.100.

This rule preceds the rule 'Anyeṣva ç pi Dṛśyate' P.A. 3.2.101. It states that the affix 'Ḍa' comes after the verb 'Jan' with a past signification, when the root takes the proposition 'Anu' and is compounded with a word in the accusative case; and the form is 'Pumanujā'. Then follows the rule 'Anyeṣvapi Dṛśyate' P.A.3.2.101. The word 'Api' in this rule has the force of removing all the conditions from the previous rule. The affix 'Ḍa' will come even if the word in composition is ending in a locative or in an ablative. Moreover, the rule P. A.3.2.98 states the condition of not denoting the genus but in the words 'Brāhmaṇajo Dharmaḥ' a genus is noted. It is declared in the rule P. A.3.2.99 that when an appellative is meant, the affix 'Ḍa' comes after the compound verb 'Jan' but it may also be employed when the sense is not simply appellative as 'Abhijāḥ or Parijāḥ'. In this way, it can be shown that the affix 'Ḍa' can be employed even without fulfilling any condition stated in the previous rules. If such is the case one may doubt the utility of those four rules. This problem will be discussed soon.

'*Vyā.MB*'. does not comment on the rule. '*Pradīpa*' however says[45] that the locative plural 'Anyeṣu' indicates the other 'Upapada*' and not the other roots. *BM.* and *TB.* do not comment but '*Kāśikā*' remarks[46] that the word 'Api' (also) paralises the restrictions whatever they may be. Thus, the other roots are also allowed. The root '*Khan*' takes the affix 'Ḍa' as 'Paritaḥ Khātā - Parikhā'.

Two important points are to be noted here. The statement of '*Kāśikā*' is supported by the author of '*Vyā.MB*'. While commenting on the rule 'Iko Guṇavṛddhī', the author of '*Vyā.MB*.' says 'Gamerapyayam Ḍo Vaktavyaḥ'. It clearly suggests that 'ḍa' should not be restricted to the root 'Jan' and as one finds the forms like 'Parikhā', it is sure that word 'Anyeṣu' implies other roots also. *TB.* has also noted this point precisely.[47]

The other point is about the authenticity of the rules like 'Anyebhyo ṣ pi Dṛśyante' or 'Anyeṣvapi Dṛśyate' etc. It is doubtful whether 'Pāṇini' himself has formed these rules, for the following reasons.

a) The structure of these rules is not in consistancy with the structure of 'Pāṇinian' rules. 'Pāṇini' does not use a verbal form in his rules while all the rules under this category employ the verbal forms like 'Dṛśyate or Dṛśyante'.

b) Pāṇinian rules show definiteness of a statement and genera-lly the strict application of the rule; while these rules allow more cases than those mentioned earlier and thus the application of these rules seems to be loose.

c) The structure of these rules is somehow similar to that of the 'Vārttika *' and these rules can be said as the amendments to the previous rules. 'Patañjali' also supports the point by stating a 'Vārttika' - 'Gamerapyayam Ḍo Vaktavyaḥ' (c. f. Ref. 47). The affix 'Ḍa' which is stated in the context of root 'Jan' is also to be applied to the root 'Gam'. Thus, the purpose of this 'Vārttika' is to add one more root to which the affix 'Ḍa' can be added. Same is the function to all the cases of 'Anyebhyo ṣ pi Dṛśyante' etc. Thus,

these rules are similar to the 'Vārttika ˢ'. As a result, it can be said that these rules are not formed by 'Pāṇini' but are later added to the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' - text. The point will be still clear in the course of further discussion.

.13) 'Anyebhyo ç pi Dṛśyate' - P. A. 3.2.178

The rule teaches the employment of the affix 'KVIP'. 'Kāśikā' [48] expects more from the rule - 'Anyebhyo ç pi Dhātubhyastācchīlikeṣu Kvip Pratyayo Dṛśyate Dṛśigrahaṇam Vidhyantaropasamgrahārtham'. The rule states that in the sense of having habit, to the other verbs (though not mentioned) 'KVIP' is added, so the forms one gets are 'Chid' or 'Bhid' (ending in 'KVIP' that is 'θ'.)

The previous rule 'Bhrājabhāsa - - ' P.A.3.2.177 ordains the affix 'KVIP' for the roots 'Bhrāj, Bhās, Dhu, Vidyut, Urj, Pṛ, Ju, Grāvastu' only; but the rule under discussion allows 'KVIP' for more roots. Thus, this rule is called 'Śeṣapuraṇam' by BM. 'Kāśikā' expects more from the word 'Dṛśyate'. It remarks that by using the words 'are seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with 'KVIP'. Thus, in some cases there is redu-plication of the root, in some instances there is no expected 'Samprasāraṇa' of the semi-vowel and in some cases there is short-ening.

Before going to the examples one point is to be noted. BM. widdens its scope by increasing the number of roots while 'Kāśikā' allows more operations along with 'KVIP'. In most of the cases the rules serve as an etymological help rather than real grammatical keys. Verbal nouns can be formed from various roots simply by suffixing 'KVIP' or other suffixes on the anology of the current use. This marks a tendency of change at 'Pāṇini's' time and also indi-cates that the forms in the spoken language were not very rigid. Then the question is why does the 'Kāśikā' add other operations and authorises them with the help of the word 'Dṛśyate' in the rule. There are about five 'Vārttika ˢ' which state some more operations with

the addition of the suffix 'KVIP'. According to 'Kāśikā' these op-
erations are already implied in the 'Pāṇinian' rules and that is
why 'Kāśikā' expects more from the verbal form 'Dṛśyate'. The
Vārttika [5] are as follows:-

a) 'Kvibvacipracchyāyatastukaṭaprujuśrīṇām Dīrgho ç
Samprasāraṇam Ca'

It states that when 'KVIP' follows the long vowel is the sub-
stitute for the vowel of the roots, 'Vac' (to speak), root 'Pracch' (to
ask), 'Āyata' + root 'Stu' (to praise long), 'Kaṭa' + root 'Pru' (to move
through a mat), root 'Ju' ( to move rapidly) and root 'Śrī' (to serve)
and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semi-vowel. (This
substitution is ordained by P. A. VI . 1.16 in the case of root 'Pracch'
and in the case of the root 'Vac' by the rule P. A. 6.1.15. Thus, one
gets the forms like 'Vāk or Prāṭ'.[49]

b) 'Dyutigamijuhotīnām Dve Ca' -

There is reduplication of the roots 'Dyut' (to shine), 'Gam'
(to go), and 'Hu' (to invoke) when 'KVIP' follows. Thus, a form
like 'Jagat' is found where the root 'Gam' is reduplicated.

Gam    + KVIP   - ('Anyebhyo ç pi Dṛśyante' ) P. A. 3.2.178
Gam    + gam    + KVIP   ( the 'Vārttika' itself )
Ga     + gam    + KVIP   ('Ekāco Dve Prathamasya'-P.A.6 .1.1)
Ja     + gam    + KVIP   ('Abhyāse Carca' - P. A. 8.4.54 )
Ja     + gam    + tuk   + KVIP
                                ('Hrasvasya Pitikṛti' P. A. 6.1.71 )
Ja     + ga [θ] + t     + [θ]'   ('Gamaḥ Kvau' - P. A. 6.4.40)
       'Jagat'.[50]

So also the forms 'Didyut, Juhū' can be explained.

Dyu +   KVIP
Dyu +   dyu + KVIP                    (the 'Vārttika' itself states)
Di  +   dyu + tuk + θ                ('Dyutisvāpyoḥ' P. A. 7.4.67)
       'Didyut'.[51]

The form 'Juhū' can be explained thus -

Hu        +        KVIP

Hu          +        hu        +        KVIP

Ju          +        hu        +        [θ]

Jjuhu -

Juhū .[52] - ( by the following 'Vārttika - juhoterdīrghaśca' )

c)'Juhoterdīrghaśca' -

There is lengthening of the vowel of the root 'Hu'. It comes to mean the lengthening of the original root-vowel and thus, we have 'Juhūḥ' a crescent shaped wooden laddle used for pouring the ghee into the sacrificial fire.

d)'Dṛbhaya Ityasya Hrasvaśca Dve Ca'

The root 'Dṝ' is shortened as 'Dadṛt' i. e. tearing,

e)'Dhyāyateḥ Samprasāraṇam Ca' -

The root 'Dhyai' ('Dhyā'-to think over) has 'Samprasāraṇa' as 'Dhīḥ' (thinking). From these examples it is clear that when the affix 'KVIP' follows in some cases other operations also take place and those are implied in the word 'Dṛśyate' of the aphorism under discussion.

14) 'Anyebhyo ҫ pi Dṛśyate' - P. A. 3.3.130.

The rule teaches the affix 'YUC' (ana). 'Kāśikā' comments, 'Anyebhyo ҫ pi Dhātubhyaḥ Agatyarthebhyaḥ Chandasi Viṣaye Yuc Pratyayo Bhavati'. the rule states that the affix 'YUC' is seen to come in the 'Veda' [51] after the roots having the sense of going or indicating motion. This rule adds that, 'YUC' can be added to even those which do not present the meaning 'to go' or indicate motion. See root 'Vid' (to obtain) as in the 'Ṛgveda'.[53]

There is one 'Vārttika' on this rule 'Bhāṣāyām Śāsiyudhidṛśi-dhṛsimṛṣibhyo Yuj Vaktavyaḥ'. 'Kātyāyana' adds that in the common language also, the affix 'YUC' is seen with the roots, 'Śās, Yudh, Dṛś, Dhṛṣ and Mṛṣ'. Thus, the forms are like 'Duḥśāsanaḥ or Duryodhanaḥ'. As these forms occur in the 'Mahābhārata', the language which is indicated by the word 'Bhāṣāyām' is the spoken or common language. 'Pradīpa'.[54] comments that the word 'Chandasi' is carried on in this rule (from P. A. 3.3.129 'Chandasi Gatyar-

thebhyaḥ') and thus 'YUC' will not be applicable in the case of the classical language. This comment can be accepted because other-wise there was no necessity of framing a special 'Vārttika' for the forms in the common language.

From the comparison between this aphorism and the 'Vārttika' one is able to understand what is the scope of 'Anyebhyaḥ'. The 'Vārttika' clearly states that the roots mentioned in the 'Vārttika' do not take 'YUC' as far as the vedic language is concerned. Then the question is how to account for the forms like 'Śāsana, Yodhana, Darśana' which are found in the 'Rgveda' itself.

Śāsana    - Rv.  I . 31 . II, III, 7.5
Yodhana   - Rv.I . 121 . 8
Darśana   - Rv.  I . 116 . 23    ( the only occurrence )

It shows that in the 'Chandas' some forms are traced while in the common language all forms are traced. In the common language the scope is widened.

15) 'Itarābhyo ç pi Dṛśyante' - 5.3.14.

The rule teaches the affixes like 'tasIL, traL, ha' etc. The previous rules have taught these affixes for locative and ablative senses; but this rule ordains them for other cases too. 'Kāśikā'.[55] has very precise comment on this rule. The rule states that the above affixes are seen coming after 'Kim', a 'Sarvanāma and Bahu', ending with other case-affixes also besiedes locative and ablative. Thus, even with the nominative the forms are like - 'Sa Bhavān, Tato Bhavān, Tatra Bhavān'. So also with the accusative as 'Tam Bhavantam, Tato Bhavantam and Tatra Bhavantam'. The words, 'Dīrghāyuḥ, Āyuṣmān and Devānāmpriyaḥ' are also seen with these affixes as 'Sa Dīrghāyuḥ, Tato Dīrghāyuḥ and Tatra Dīrghāyuḥ'.

These cases do not come under the category of optional forms for the option - indication demands two parallel forms indicating same meaning while the rules of this category show indefiniteness of the grammatical operations and also the irregularity of the objects of those operations. Particularly about the usages like 'Sa

Bhavān, Tato Bhavān' etc, these are stylistic usages restricted only to certain cases. The forms obtained by these rules are optional (if at all to be called) only because their application is not strict. The forms which are arrived at, by these rules have very rare occurance thus the option indicated by these rules is of a very low status.

16) 'Anyeṣāmapi Dṛśyate' - P. A. 6.3.137.

The rule teaches the elongation of the final vowel in general (and not in a particular type of literature). The previous rule 'Nipātasya Ca' P.A.6.3.136 states that in the 'Ṛgveda (Ṛci)' the final of a participle is lengthened but in this rule i.e.137 the word 'Ṛci' is not to be carried over for the reason that the word 'Ca' in the previous rule stops the 'Anuvṛtti' of 'Ṛci' so P.A. 6.3.137 becomes a general rule.

'Kāśikā'.[56] in its comment on the rule seems to be very practical. This rule is not commented upon by 'Vyā.MB, BM,.and TB'. If the lengthening is not ordained by any grammatical rule but occurs in the usages of the sophisticated people one has to accept such a lengthening as valid on the ground of this rule says, 'Kāśikā'. The example given by scholars and tradition is from the classical usage, like 'Keśākeśi or Daṇḍādaṇḍi'. But whether the rule has this in view is the question. Probably, the rule does not indicate the lengthening of the final vowel of the first word, but this rule is also to be taken as formed with reference to the Vedic language and the purpose for this lengthening is the proper metrical construction. There is no indication in the rule for lengthening of the final vowel of the first word otherwise there was no necessity of forming the next two rules.

    i)   Cau ('Pūrvasya Dīrghaḥ'. P. A. 6.3.138)

    ii)  Saṁprasāraṇasya ('Pūrvasya Dīrghaḥ' - P. A. 6.3.139) 'Cāvityañcatirluptanakāro Gṛhyate'.[57] Thus we have -

     -  'Dadhīcaḥ Paśya - Dadhīcā Paśya'.[58]

     -  'Madhūcaḥ Paśya - Madhūcā Paśya'.[59]  So also, as an example of the second rule one can mention 'Kāriṣagandhīputraḥ or Kaumudagandhīputraḥ' (which otherwise would have been short

as 'Kāriṣagandhiputraḥ and Kaumudagandhiputraḥ' ). In both these rules the lengthening of the final vowel of the first, as a single word or as a member of the compound is ordained. Thus, these two rules are the 'Jñāpaka' to indicate that the rule 'Anyeṣāmapi Dṛśyate' does not ordain the lengthening of the final vowel of the first word but it allows lengthening in general. The forms like 'Nāraka, Pūruṣa' where the lengthening is seen are found in the Vedic literature.[60] also.

Moreover, the 'Vārttika' also supports the point. The 'Vārttika' is as follows -

'Śunaḥ Dantadaṃṣṭrākarṇakuṇḍavarāhapucchapadeṣu'.

The final of the 'Śvan' is lengthened before 'Danta, Damṣṭrā, Karṇa, Kuṇḍa, Varāha, Puccha and Pada'. Thus, we have 'Śvādantaḥ, Śvākarṇaḥ'. Had the final of the first been alone intended by the rule the word 'Śvan', would have already come under its scope.

Two important points are to be noted regarding the rules which are formed with the words like 'Anyeṣāmapi Dṛśyate' etc.

a)   All the cases like 'Anyebhyo ς pi Dṛśyante' show that previously a rule is framed for some roots only and the subsequent rule ( employing the words like 'Anyeṣām' etc.) adjoins 'in other cases also'. The rules which are framed prior to these rules note the cases of clear, long usages while the rules 'Anyebhyo ς pi Dṛśyante' and alike widden the scope of previous  rules. The style of framing the rule itself shows  the looseness of usages and thus it gives an unrestricted option amounting to no hard and fast rule.

b)   It  is  probable that the main rule enjoining a suffix or a particular grammatical operation is taken by 'Pāṇini' from his predecessors whom he could not name and to this he adds the tendency of his time. The 'Jñāpaka' for this is the rule P. A. 3.2.75 'Anyebhyo ς pi Dṛśyante', where the earlier rule states a vedic usage, percolated in the classical usage. In the other clear cases of option i.e. 'Vā, Vibhāṣā' such a list of roots in the previous rule and then an addition of a few more roots is not observed. In the rule P.A.3.2.75 the 'Anuvṛtti' of the words 'Chandasi' and 'Ātaḥ' is not carried on

(which is implied in the previous rule). This widens the scope and range of the rule 'Anyebhyo ç pi Dṛśyante' P. A. 3.2.75.

It is already noted before that these rules cannot come under the category of the option -indicative rules and if at all it is an option it is to such a low degree that it actually amounts to zero. It is just a concession for the particular usages and not the option - indication.

'Pāṇini' has also used the word 'Nigame', which means a sacred precept and which occurs in not more than three rules. In all the three rules, i.e. P.A.6.3.113, P. A. 6.4.9 and P.A.7.2.64 the word refers to the vedic text and does not denote option. In the rule 'Vā Sapurvasya Nigame' P.A.6.4.9., the primary option-indicative-term 'Vā' is used. The necessity of using the word 'Vā' clearly indicates that the word 'Nigame' does not indicate option at all. The word 'Nigama' has been used to denote different meanings according to the dictionary. 1) The Veda.,2) A town.,3) A sacred precept. ('Chandas'). In all the three rules by 'Pāṇini' the word 'Nigama' means the 'Veda'.

17) 'Sādhyai Sādhvā Sādheti Nigame' - P. A. 6.3.113.

The rule teaches about the some irregular forms in the 'Veda'. The 'Kāśikā' has nothing more to add. These forms occur in the 'Samhitā' especially the 'Mai.Sam'.[61] In the secular literature the proper forms would have been 'Saḍhā' and 'Soḍhvā'. The form 'Sāḍhā' in the Veda does not show the 'O' - substitution which is shown by the form 'Soḍhā' in the secular literature. It is a 'Tṛjanta'. The form 'Sāḍhvā' is arrived at in the following manner : -

1) 'Sah   + ktvā'

2) 'Saḍh  + ktvā' -   ('Ho Dhaḥ'.P.A.8.2.31)

3) 'Saḍh  + tvā' -

4) 'Saḍh  + dhvā' - ('Ṣṭunā Ṣṭuḥ') P.A.8.4.41

5) 'Sa    + dhvā' - ('Ḍho Ḍherlopaḥ'.) P.A.8.3.13

6) 'Sāḍhvā' - ('Ḍhralope Pūrvasya Dīrgho ç naḥ'.) P.A.6.3.11.

The form is seen as 'Sālhā'.[62] The 'O'-substitution takes place in the secular literature by the rule 'Sahivahoḥ ot Avarṇasya' - P. A. 6.3.112.

The form 'Sāḍhai' is obtained by the following process -
'Sah + Ktvā' ('Pakṣe Ktvāpratyayasya 'Dhai' Ādeśaḥ Nipātyate'. *B.M.* on P.A. 6.3.113)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sah | + | dhyai | ('Ho Ḍhaḥ'.) | P. A. 8.2.31 |
| Saḍh | + | dhyai | ('Ṣṭunā Ṣṭuḥ'.) | P. A. 8.4.41 |
| Sa | + | ḍhyai | ('Ḍho Ḍher Lopaḥ'.) | P. A. 8.3.13 |
| Sa (ḍh) + | | ḍhyai | ('Ḍhralope Pūrvasya Dīrgho ç naḥ'.) | |

P. A. 6.3.111. 'Sāḍhyai'

18) 'Vā Ṣapūrvasya Nigame' - P. A. 6.4.9.

The rule teaches the lengthening of the penultimate vowel in certain cases. '*Kāśikā*' explains the word 'Nigame' as 'Nigama-viṣaye'. The rule states that the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in 'N' before the affixes of the strong case (i.e. other than a vocative), is optional in the 'Veda' when 'Ṣa' precedes such vowel. For example- 'Takṣaṇam' or 'Takṣāṇam' and 'Ṛbhukṣaṇam' or 'Ṛbhukṣāṇam'. One must note that neither the form 'Takṣaṇam' nor 'Takṣāṇam' is found in the '*Ṛgvda*'. The form 'Ṛbhukṣaṇam'.[63] only is found and not 'Ṛbhukṣāṇam'. Thus, 'Nigama' does not indicate '*Ṛgveda*' particularly. The form 'Takṣā-ṇam'.[64] is found in the '*Kāṭhaka -saṁhitā*', so it is clear that the word 'Nigama' refers to the Vedic literature in general.

19) 'Babhuthātatanthajagṛmbhavavartheti Nigame' - 7.2.64.

The rule teaches the irregular forms in the 'Veda[5]', '*Kāśikā's*' comment about the word 'Nigame' is the same as in the above rule. The rule teaches that the irregular forms are found in the vedas, as 'Babhūtha, Ātatantha, Jagṛmbha, Vavartha'. The form 'Jagṛmbha'.[65] is found in the '*Ṛgveda*' and in the '*Tai.Brā*'.[66] Thus, it is clear that here also the 'Veda' does not refer to the '*Ṛgveda*' particularly but to the vedic literature in general. The proper forms of these 'Nipātana.[5]' would be 'Babhūvitha, Atenitha, Jagṛhima and Vavaritha' respectively. About the form 'Vavartha' a point should

be noted. The rule P. A. 7.2.13 that is 'Kṛsṛbhṛvṛstudṛsruśruvo Liṭi' states that the personal endings of the perfect do not get the augment 'Iṭ', after the roots, 'Kṛ, Sṛ, Bhṛ, Vṛ, Stu, Dṛ, Sru and Śru'. Thus, the root 'Vṛ' is already 'Aniṭ', so we can have naturally the form 'Vavartha'. Such being the case, the special mention of the form shows that in the secular literature this root is 'Seṭ' before the suffix 'Tha' of the perfect. The form 'Vavartha'.[67] is found in the 'Ṛgveda'. 'Babhūtha'.[68] and 'Ātatantha'.[69] are also found in the 'Mai.Sam' and 'Ṛgveda-Samhitā'. 'Pāṇini' has used the word 'Chandasi' many times to indicate the Vedic literature, then why the word 'Nigame' is used to denote the same sense ?. Probably, when he says 'Chandasi' he knows the definite source of that particular word but when he says 'Nigame' it is difficult for him to quote the exact reference.

20) 'Pumsi Samjñāyām Ghaḥ Prāyeṇa' - P.A.3.3.118

The following rule uses the word 'Prāyeṇa' which occurs only once in the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' and in the rule P.A.3.3.120 it is carried over. The rule P.A.3.3.118 ordains the suffix 'GHa'. It states that the affix 'GHa' ('a') generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root when the word to be formed is a noun and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word 'Prāyeṇa', 'generally' is to show that this is not a universal rule. By this rule one gets a form like 'Dantacchadaḥ'.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chād | + GHa | ('Pumsi Samjñāyām - -') | P. A. 3.3.118 |
| Chād | + a | | |
| Chad | + a | ('Chāder ç dvyupasargasyahrasvaḥ'.) | |
| | | | P. A. 6.4.96 |

Chadaḥ

When 'Pāṇini' has other words to indicate option like 'Vā, Vibhāṣā, Bahulam' etc, which denote different shades of option, why does he use a new word like 'Prāyeṇa' which occurs only once in the whole of the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī', is a question. The very introduc-

tion of this rule indicates that the option denoted by the word 'Prāyeṇa' is somehow different from the option denoted by other option - indicative - words. The word 'Prāyeṇa' means 'mostly it is seen'. The word 'Prāyeṇa' as it allows even the absence of the affix 'GHa' it is an option - indicative - term. In the absence of suffix 'GHa', the affix 'LYUṬ' by the general rule 'Karaṇādhi-karaṇayośca' P.A. 3.1.117 claims and the forms arrived at are like 'Dantacchādanaḥ or Uraśccādanaḥ'. What the rule implies is that the word 'Prāyeṇa' suggests more usages of the affix 'GHa' than that of 'LYUṬ' (ana). This type of option i.e. frequency of one form and the rareness of the other is not denoted by any word which he has used previously. Thus, for this shade of meaning he introduces a new term.

Further, the word 'Chandasi' is to be discussed. This word is supposed to be the option - indicative - word but the study of the rules employing the word will prove that this word does not indicate option but just notes the peculiarities of the vedic literature in general.

The rules formed with the word 'Chandasi' are large in number as they pertain to a peculiar type of language and literature which is vast and thus become an important part of the study of grammatical explanations of various operations. It is not that these rules are important because they are numerous, but because the mode of the language they represent, is very important; here literary usage is fixed and yet indicates a stage in evolution.

One has to determine the scope of the word 'Chandasi'. 'Chandas' is a metrical construction later used in the rituals. However, it is found that even the prose-passages used in the rituals are also called 'Chandas'. The 'Mantra' which are taken from the 'Ṛgveda', are to be called 'chandas' but even the prose-passages are also included in the vedic literature and are indicated by the word 'Chandas' in 'Pāṇini'.

Prof. Goldstücker's [70] observation on this word is as follows

- 'The first meaning of 'Chandas' in the ancient writing is 'metre', the second is 'verse' in general and in this sense it is contrasted with the prosaic passages of the 'Yajurveda'. In 'Pāṇini' the word 'Chandas' occurs in the rules which concern vedic words, one hundred and ten times and its sense extends over two hundred and thirty three rules. In the rules of this category it means 'Veda' in general comprising thus the 'Mantra'', as well as the 'Brāhmaṇa' portion of the 'Veda'.

'Kātyāyana' in one of his 'Vārttika.'' (among the forty employing the word 'Chandasi' ) specially mentions that the word 'Chandas' in the 'Vārttika', 'Grīṣmādacchandasīti Vaktavyam' (on the rule P. A. 4.1.86) should be taken to mean 'a metre' and not the 'Veda'.[71] It also shows that the word 'Chandas' includes prose-passages also.

21) 'Janitā Mantre' - P. A. 6.4.53

The word 'Mantre' in various rules strengthens the point. 'Mantra' strictly means a metrical formula. Thus, 'Ṛc.'' from the 'Ṛgveda' can be called 'Mantra'', and also those passages from the 'Yajurveda' and the 'Sāmaveda' which are taken from the 'Ṛgveda', in their original form. There are many more rules using the word 'Mantra' and they are 1) Mantre Somāśvendriya - - -P. A. 6.3.131. 2) Oṣadheśca Vibhaktā ---P.A. 6.3.132. 3) Mantreṣvāṅyāderātmanaḥ - - -P. A. 6.4.141. and also P. A. 2.4.80 and P. A. 3.3.96 etc. Among these rules 'Janitā Mantre' is an important rule and thus is to be studied here. 'Kāśikā' explains the rule as follows -'Janiteti Mantraviṣaye Iḍādau Ṇilopo Nipātyate'. The rule states, that in a 'Mantra' the word 'Janita' is formed irregularly by the elision of 'ṇi' before the affix 'Tṛ' with the augment 'iṬ'. Thus, the form in a 'Mantra' is 'Janitā' while in the secular literature the form is 'janayitā'.

The 'Mantra', which is, referred here, is Ṛv.X.82.3 (for this rule) 'Yo Naḥ Pitā Janitā Yo Vidhātā'. This 'Mantra' is also found at 'Vāja.Saṁ.'.17.27 and AV. 2.1.3. 'Sāyaṇa' on Ṛv.X . 82.3 does not refer to this rule but merely paraphrases 'Janitā Utpādakaḥ'.

'Uvaṭa' on 'Vāja.Saṁ.' 17.27 merely says 'Janitā Janayitā' but 'Mahīndra' explains and justifies the form grammatically. He says 'Janitā, janayitā, Utpādakaḥ Janitā Mantre Iti Nipātanam'. 'Sāyaṇa' on A V. 2.13 does the same 'Janitā, Janayitā, Utpādakaḥ Janitā Mantre Iti Nipātanat Ṇilopaḥ'.

A point may be noted that the rules in which the word 'Mantra' is used are not to be applied for all the cases where the word 'Chandas' is used but the rules in which the word 'Chandas' is used can be applied to all the cases where the word 'Mantra' is used. The rules having the words like 'Mantre, Yajuṣi, Ṛci, Kāṭhake' have limited scope of application as compared to those having the word 'Chandasi'. The tendencies noted in the rules like -

22) 'Yajuṣi' (i.e. 'Yajuṣyuraḥ' P.A.6.1.117 or 'Devasumnayoryajuṣikāṭhake' - P.A.7.4.38. etc.) are limited to that text only but 'Chandasi' has wide scope of application. Some ritual couplets which indicate folk - usages and are included in the 'Khila.ˢ, Kuntāpasūkta.ˢ' and Kāravyasūkta.ˢ' are later inserted in the rituals and are also accepted as 'Chandas'. Thus, 'Chandas' in 'Pāṇinian' grammar is either a metrical expression or a non-metrical formula, used in the rituals. The word 'Saṁhitāyām' is used thrice in the 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' and that is -

23) a)  'Saṁhitāyām'      -        P. A. 6.3.114.
    b)  'Saṁhitāyām'      -        P. A. 6.1.72.
    c)  'Tayoryvāvaci Saṁhitāyām' - P.A.8.2.108. This is not the reference to the four 'Saṁhitā.ˢ' of the four veda.ˢ but to the 'Saṁhitāpāṭha' as against the 'Padapāṭha'.

With this discussion it is proved that the word 'Chandas' does not indicate option at all. Neither the dictionary gives that meaning nor does 'Pāṇini' expect it. The word just suggests the other type of language i.e. the pre-classical language. There are some rules which use an additional option-indicative-word along with the word 'Chandasi'.

For example -

24) 'Ṣaṣṭhīyuktaḥ Chandasi Vā' P. A. 1.4.9. 'Ṣaṣṭhīyuktaḥ'
('Ṣaṣṭhyantena Yuktaḥ' )'Pati Śabdaḥ Chandasi Viṣaye Vā
Ghisaṁjño Bhavati,'Kuluñcānām Pataye ('Patye' ) Namaḥ'. There
are many examples of this type. They give us a clue that the word,
'Chandas' does not suggest option, otherwise the word'Vā' in those
rules will be redundant. But, in'Pāṇini's' rules not even a single
letter is redundant. Thus,'Vā' has some important function. In the
other rules of this type also the word'Chandasi' indicates a type of
language and the words like'Vā, Vibhāṣā' indicate optional forms
in that language.

Some peculiarities of the vedic language are presented by
these rules.

(a) Such rules note some specialities along with alternative
usage in the vedic language. The general trend of the language is
retained and still something new is noticed or the general trend is
completely violated and some new trend is established. For example -

25) 'Nonayatidhvanayatyelayatyardayatibhyaḥ' P.A.3.1.51
('Cleḥ Caṅi Chandasi' )'Cli' is not substituted by'CaṄ' in the causa-
tives of the above roots. In the common language,'Cli' gets substi-
tuted by the rule'Ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ Kartari Caṅ' P.A.3.1.48, but in
the case of the above mentioned roots, in the vedic literature 'Cli'
should not be substituted by'CaṄ' and we have the forms like
'Ūnayīḥ'or'Dhvanayīt'.Examples are also found in the Vedic lit-
erature where this substitution does not take place,and we have the
form 'Dhvanayīt'.[72]

26) 'Chandasi Pare ç pi' - P. A. 1.4.81.

By the rule'Te Prāgdhātoḥ' - P.A.1.4.80 it is stated that the
particles called'Gati' and'Upasarga' are to be employed before the
verbal form ( that is to say, they are prefixes), but this rule says that
in the 'Chandas','Gati.' and 'Upasarga' are employed indiffer-
ently after the verbal form as well as before it. Here the general
trend of prefixing them is retained and still separate use of them is

allowed. According to 'Kaiyaṭa', 'Chandasi Pare ṣ pi' and 'Vyavahi-tāśca' are unnecessary rules.['Uttarasūtradvayam Ca Na Kartavyam Bhavati'.] Whitney (as Limaye notes.[73] ) observes 'Rules of capital importance applied constantly in 'Veda' and frequently in 'Brāhmaṇa' that a verbal prefix may be separated from its verb and even put after the later ( P. A. 1.4.81 - 82).' These rules according to 'Bothlingk' are not given by 'Pāṇini' himself but are supplied to his text from 'Vārttika'.

27) The rules like 'Kṛmṛdṛsahibhyaśchandasi' (P.A. 3.1.59) or 'Chandasi Śāyajapi' (P.A.3.1.84) also support the point that the vedic language has exceptional operations as compared to the classical language. The rule P.A.3.1.59 ordains the 'aN' -substitution in place of 'Cli' in the 'Veda' for the roots 'Kṛ, Mṛ, Dṛ and Ruh'. Thus, one finds forms like 'Akarat, Amarat, Adarat and Aruhat'. The classical aorist of these verbs is 'Akārsīt (with 'sIC' ), Adārīt, Amṛt and Arukṣat'. The rule P.A.3.1.84 ordains the suffix 'ŚāyaC' also when in the classical Sanskrit 'ŚānaC' is the substitute of 'Śnā' after the roots ending in consonants when 'hi' follows.

b) In some rules, where the word 'Chandasi' occurs the affixes like 'Se, Sen' etc, are employed in the sense of 'Tumartha' (here dative infinitives). For example -

28) '*Tumarthe sesenaseasenkasekasenadhyaiadhyainkadhyai-kadhyainsadhyaisadhyaintavaitaveṅtavenaḥ* ('Chandasi' ) P.A.3.4.9. The examples are found in the 'Saṁhitā.' [74-75] For the rule 'Dṛsevikhye Ca' ('Tumarthe Chandasi' P.A.3.4.11.) example is found.[76] in the *Ṛgveda*.

29) 'Kṛtyārthe Tavaikenkenyatvanaḥ' - P.A.3.4.14.

The rule ordains these affixes in the sense of 'Kṛtya'. For example, 'Anvetavai'. This form is found in the *Mai.Sam.*[77]

c) Sometimes there are optional forms in the classical language but in the pre-classical language that option is not found, and vice versa. For example - The rule 'Bahvādibhyaśca' P.A.4.1.45 states that the affix 'NīS' is optionally employed in the feminine

after the word 'Bahu' and the rest in the classical language and thus we have two forms 'Bahvī and Bahuḥ'. But in the pre-classical language the form 'Bahuḥ' is not found and the only form one gets is 'Bahvī'. This is the obligatoriness of the feminine suffix 'ṄĪṢ' in the case of the words 'Bahu' etc. in the Vedic language. It is stated by the following rule i. e.

30) 'Nityam Chandasi' - P.A.4.1.46. The later usage obviously adds to the older form.

Actually, the word 'Bahu' would have taken the affix 'ṄĪṢ' by the previous rule 'Voto Guṇavacanāt' P.A.4.1.44 optionally, but its specific mention in the rule P.A.4.1.45 is for the subsequent 'Sūtra', by which it obligatorily takes 'ṄĪṢ' in the 'Chandas'. Some scholars are of the opinion (as the *BM.* notes.[78] ) that according to the commentary on the 'Ākaḍārasūtra', the numerals do not indicate any quality and thus they do not come under the province of the rule 'Voto Guṇavacanāt' and thus 'ṄĪṢ' is not at all ordained for the word 'Bahu' and thus P. A. 4.1.45 specially mentions it. In the 'Veda' the form 'Bahvī' is found.[79] and not 'Bahuḥ'. The forms which are obligatory in the classical language are sometimes optionalised in the 'Chandas'. For example -

'Ṣaṣṭhīyuktaḥ Chandasi Vā' P. A. 1.4.9. In the 'Chandas' only the designation 'Ghi' is optional for 'Pati', in other cases it is obligatory. Thus, in the Vedic literature we have two forms 'Pataye and Patye' but in the classical language only 'Pataye'.(Please see rule no.24 also.)

31) 'Prāgekādaśabhyo ṣ cchandasi' P. A. 5.3.49.

The specific use of the word 'Acchandasi' is noteworthy. The rule states that after an ordinal numeral, upto eleven exclusive, comes the affix 'An', the word retaining its denotation, when a part is meant, but not so in the 'Chandas'. In this rule alone, the word 'Chandasi' is used with its negative aspect. The purpose of this rule is to regulate the accent. The particular use of the word 'Acchandasi' indicates negation of the affix 'an' in the Vedic language, as the

'Tai.Sam'. shows, [80] The word with the affix 'an' has the first vowel with the 'Udātta' accent while in the other cases the final vowel is 'Udātta'. So we have the word 'Caturthaḥ', the first vowel of which is 'Udātta' (i.e. 'Ādyudātta') but the word 'Ekādaśaḥ' is 'Antodātta', so also in the 'Chandas', 'Pañcama' will be 'Antodātta'. Though the word 'Acchandasi' is used only in the rule P.A.5.3.49, its sense extends over to P. A. 5.3.50 also.

32) 'Ṣaṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām Ña Ca'.P. A. 5.3.50.

It states that the affix 'Ña' also comes as well as 'an' after 'Ṣaṣṭha and Aṣṭama', when a part is meant but not in the 'Chandas'. This affix gives 'Ādivṛddhi' (as the suffix has 'Ñ' as its indicatory letter) and as the affix 'an' is carried over, the 'Ādyudātta' position is retained (for the non-Vedic language). Finally, the implication of the word 'Acchandasi' is that the tendency which is expected in the 'Veda' is seen in the language and the tendency of the language is seen in the Veda.

A few more points are to be noted about the rules employing the word 'Chandasi' - a) There are many rules which instruct about the pronounciation. It is quite natural and logical that the rules about pronounciation are large in number in the case of 'Chandas' because the 'Veda' are kept intact by the 'Maukhika Paramparā'. The 'Uccāraṇa-vidhi' is always given importance to. For example, the rule 'Chandasi Ca' P.A.6.3.126 says that in the Veda the long vowel is substituted for the final of 'Aṣṭan' before a second number.

33) 'Ṛci Tunughamakṣutaṅkutroruṣyāṇām' - P.A.6.3.133 states, 'in the 'Ṛgveda' the finals of the particles 'Nu, Tu, Gha, Makṣu', the tense of 'Taṅ, Ku', the ending 'Tra' and the word 'Uruṣya' are lengthened. The word 'Ṛci' is carried over to the rules P. A. 6.3.134, 135 and 136. Examples for each word [81] from the rule P. A. 6.3.133 are found. All these words are studied in details by T. Burrow. [82]

34) 'Ikaḥ Suñi Dīrghaḥ' - P. A. 6.3.134

The examples are found in the 'Ṛgveda' to explain this rule. [83]

35) 'Dvyacastastiṅaḥ' - P. A. 6.3.135. Some quotations from the 'Saṁhitā' - literature[84] explain this rule.

36) 'Nipātasya Ca' - P. A. 6.3.136

'Ṛgveda' provides the example[85] to explain the rule. In the case of the 'Ṛgveda' particularly, it seems that this lengthening is for the purpose of metrical construction as the specific directive 'Ṛci' suggests. Sometimes this type of lengthening is meant for 'Uccāraṇa-saukarya' or 'mukha-sukha'. Whatever the purpose may be it is a fact that the rules about pronounciation or accentuation are large in number in the group of the rules having the word 'Chandasi'.

In this group, cases of uncertainty are also noticed frequently. See for example -

37) 'Bahulam Chandasyamāṅyoge ç pi' - P. A. 6.4.75.

The rules 'Āḍajādīnām, Chandasyapi Dṛśyate and Na Māṅyoge' state that 'aṬ' occurs in the 'Veda' also as an augment of a verbal stem in the aorist, imperfect and conditional. In connection with the prohibitive particle 'Mā' the augment 'aṬ or āṬ' is not added in the aorist, imperfect and in the conditional, but in the case of the 'Veda' there is diversity.[86] The augment 'aṬ or āṬ' is added even with 'Mā' and sometimes not added even when the prohibitive particle 'Mā' is not used. The augment is not added though prohibitive particle 'mā' is not used but in 'Mā Vaḥ Kṣetre Parabījānya-vāpsuḥ'.[87], the augment is not elided though there is the particle 'Mā'.

There are twelve rules which note the irregularities in the 'Chandas' with the help of the word 'Bahulam'. One important rule with the word 'Api' is -

38) 'Chandasyapi Dṛśyate' - P. A. 7.1.76.

It states that the affix 'anAṄ' is also applicable to those cases to which it is not stated by the previous rule. 'Kāśikā' comments as follows - 'Yatra Vihitaḥ Tato ç nyatrāpi Dṛśyate'. 'Aci Ityuktam Anajādāvapi Dṛśyate',[88] so we have the form 'Asthabhiḥ' as 'Indro Dadhīco Asthabhiḥ'[89] or 'Bhadram Paśyemākṣabhiḥ'[90]. The affix 'anAṄ' is taught to attach before case - endings even if the case is

other than which is told.[91] The point therefore is that there are two stems of each of the word noted in the aphorism as 'Asthan' and 'Asthi, Akṣam and Akṣi' etc.

Some rules take note of the 'Nipātana.' or the irregular forms. The words which are already used in the Vedic literature but the grammatical explanation of which cannot be given are generally titled as 'Nipātanaˢ' or irregular formations. These words are free from the tight cluthes of the grammatical rules.

39) 'Bahuprajāśchandasi' - P. A. 5.4.123.

The rule states that the word 'Bahuprajāḥ' is valid in the vedas. In the secular literature the form would be 'Bahuprajaḥ' because the stem is taken as 'Bahupraja' while in 'Suprajāḥ or Aprajāḥ' the stem is 'Suprajā or Aprajā' (in feminine gender). The form 'Bahuprajā' [92] is found in the Vedic literature.

40) 'Iṣṭvīnamiti Ca' - P. A. 7.1.48.

This rule also notes an irregular form to be valid in the Vedic literature. The rule states that in the veda the absolutive 'Iṣṭvīnam' is irregularly formed for 'Iṣṭvā'. The cases of 'Bahulam' - 'Chandasi' are markable. These are twelve in number. For example -

41) a) 'Bahulam Chandasi' - P. A. 7.1.8. 'Chandasi Viṣaye Bahulam Ruḍāgamo Bhavati'.

42) b) 'Bahulam Chandasi' - P. A. 7.1.103. 'Chandasi Viṣaye Ṛkārantat Dhātoḥ Angasya Bahulam Ukārādeśo Bhavati'. Many examples are found[93] where this rule is applied. 'Sāyaṇa' makes use of this rule on 'Ṛgveda'.I.37.8.[94] -'Jujurvān - root jṝ - Vayohānau - Liṭaḥ - Bahulam Chandasi' 7.3.103 .'Iti Utvam'.

43) c) 'Bahulam Chandasi'-P.A.7.3.97 -'Astisicorapṛktasya Sārvadhātukasya Iḍāgamo Bhavati Bahulam Chandasi Viṣaye'.

All these cases suggest that one cannot bind a language with the bonds of certain rules. Especially, the language of the Vedic literature was a living language, always changing, growing, loosing something, adding something and thus flowing. New forms were received and old forms were send-off. In such a process of evolu-

tion specific rules are not enough to govern the whole bulk of the language and thus the grammarians, who have to take a particular period as a norm, are compelled to allow such formations by saying that these forms are diversely used. However, this cannot be said to be the in-efficiency of the grammarians but it is surely beyond the reach of human control.

# References

1) *Ṛgveda* . VII : 99.7. *Tai.Saṁ* . 2.2.125.

2) *Kāṭhaka* - 4.16.

तव शर्मन् प्रियतमे दधाना उपस्थेयां शरणं न वृक्षम् ।

३ ) आग॑न् देव ऋतुभिर्वर्धन्तु क्षयम् ।

४ ) वर्धन्नु त्वा सुष्टुतयो॒ गिरो॑ मे - - - ।

५ ) पृण॒न्तस्ते कुक्षी॑ वर्धयन्तु॒ - त्या - - ।

६ ) वर्धयन्तीमापः + - ।

7) 'Kāśikā' - C. S. S. Varanasi. 1952, on the rule 6.4.5, P.575.

'धाता धातॄणामिति' बह्वृचाः तैत्तिरीयास्तु ह्रस्वमेव पठन्ति ।

The word

बह्वृचाः

refers to the 'Ṛgveda' and its 'Brāhmaṇas'.

8) *Tai . Saṁ* . 1.8.5.2 = *Ṛgveda* X . 57.3.

मनो॑ न्वा हुवामहे - - - पितॄणां च॒ मन्मभिः ।

9) *Mai . Saṁ* . 1.10.3.

मनो॒ न्वा हुवामहे - - - पितॄणां च॒ मन्मभिः ।

10) *Ṛgveda* X . 57.3.

- - - पितॄणां च॒ मन्मभिः ।

11) *Ṛgveda* X . 128.7.

धाता धातॄणां भुवनस्य॒ यस्पतिः - - - ।

12) *Ṛgveda*- I . 43.7.,

- - - नि येंहि शतस्य नॄणाम् ।

I . 48.4.

- - - नाम गृणाति नॄणाम् ।

13) The *Pai . Saṁhitā'* is not available.

14) *Mai . Saṁ*. 4.5.9

धेनु, – स्तत्तिसॄणां च धन्वनश्च जन्म,

15) *Kāṭhaka . Saṁ* . 27.9.

- - - द्व्योर्घार्तरयोः - - - तिसॄणां - - - चतसॄणां - - - ।

16) *Rgveda* . V . 69.2

त्र्यंस्तस्थुर्वृषभास्तिसॄणां - - - ।

17) *Rgveda* . VIII . 19.37

तिसॄणां सप्ततीनां श्यावः - - - ।

18) *Rgveda* . VIII . 101.6.

वस्वे – कं पुत्रं तिसॄणाम् - - - ।

19) '*Kāśikā*' - C. S. S. Varanasi. 1952, on the rule 6.4.86, P.589.

छन्दसि विषये भूसुधि इत्येतयोः उभयथा दृश्यते ।

20) *Rgveda* . III . 31.13

त्संद्यो वृद्धं विभ्वं शूं रोदस्योः ।

*Rgveda* . IV . 7.1

- - - वनेंषु चित्रं विभ्वं विशे विशे ।

21) *Rgveda*. I . 51.14.

इन्द्रो अश्राधि सुध्यो निरेके ।

    IV . 2 . 14

- - - ऋतं यैमुः सुध्यं आशुषाणाः ।

22) A '*Vārttika*' on the rule P. A. 6.4.86.

इयङ् उवङ् प्रकरणे तन्वादीनां छन्दसि बहुलमुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ।

23) *Mai . Saṁ*. 1.5.2.

तन्वं मे पाहि ।

*Tai . Saṁ*. 1.2.1.

सोमस्य तनूरसि तनुवं मे पाहि ।

24) *T. A.* 1.27.3

स्वर्गो लोको ज्योतिषावृतः ।

T. A. 10.63. *Mahān. U.* 22 -

सुवर्गो लोको बृहत् ।

25) *Tai . Sam* . 1.8.6.2

अवाम्ब रुद्रमसिमह्राव देवं त्र्यम्बकम् ।

*Mai . Sam* . 1.10.4

- - - देवं त्र्यृम्बकम् ।

*Ṛgveda* - VII . 59.12

त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पुष्टिवर्धनम् ।

The form 'Tri - ambakam' is not found.

26) *Mai.Sam.* 1.6.10.

तदाहुरग्णः इवानुद्धत्य अथाग्निहोत्रं होतव्यम् ।

*Mai . Sam* . 1.10.10.

यावत् कुमारे अग्नो जाते ।

27) *A V.*86.19.

ये अग्नो जातान् मारयन्ति ।

See also - 'Kāṭhaka' - 6.5 and 8.8.

28) Whitney, W.D., '*Atharvaveda*' -(translation), Vol.II, P.49.

२९ ) ऊधस् -

'*Kāṭhaka*' - 7.5

अस्य प्रत्नामनु द्युतमिति ऊध एवैतया करोमि ।

See also -     '*Ṛgveda*' - I . 146.2., VIII . 31.5.

उधर् -

'*Ṛgveda*' - I . 64.5.

दुहन्त्यू र्धर्दिव्यानि धूतयो - - - ।

ऊधन् -

'*Ṛgveda*' - X . 45.3.

- - - नृचक्षा ईधे दिवो अनु ऊर्धन् ।

See also -     '*Ṛgveda*' - II . 34.2., I . 152.6.

30) '*Ṛgveda*' - I . 83.2.

- - - मंवः पश्यन्ति विततं यथा रजः । ː

अवर् -

'Ṛgveda' - I . 133.6.

अ॒वर्मह॑ इन्द्र दादृहि ।

31) *B.M.* ( *Si.kau* . Vol . I . ), on 4.1.62, P.577.

'भाषाग्रहणेन भाषायां सर्वत्र भवति वेदे तु क्वचित् भवति इति लभ्यते इत्यर्थः।'

32) a) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 120 . 8

मा कस्मै - - - स्त॒ना॒भुजो॑ अशिश्वीः ।

32) b) 'Ṛgveda' - III . 55 . 16

आ धे॒नवो॑ धुनयन्तामशिश्वीः ।

33) '*Kāśikā*' - C.S.S. Banārasa. 1952, on the rule 8.2.98, P.735.

इह भाषाग्रहणात्पूर्वयोगश्छन्दसि विज्ञायते ।

34) *B.G.* . 12.3

कूटस्थमचलं ध्रुवम् ।

35) *Tai . Saṃ* . 1.1.11.1 and Mai . saṃ . 1.1.11.

36) 'Ṛgveda' - III . 42 . 2

- - - बर्हिः॒छां ग्रावभिः सुतम् ।

37) 'Ṛgveda' - III . 2 . 14

- - - रोचनस्थामुषर्बुधम् ।

38) 'Ṛgveda' - IV . 33 . 8

रथं॒ ये च॒क्रुः सुवृ॒तं नरे॒ष्ठां - - - ।

39) 'Ṛgveda' - V . 50 . 3

- - - पथेष्ठां द्विषो युयोतु यूयुविः ।

40) '*Kāśikā*' - C. S. S. Banārasa. 1952, on the rule 8.2.98, P.735.

भाषायां विषये विचार्यमाणानां पूर्वमेव प्लवते । इह भाषाग्रहणात् पूर्वयोगः छन्दसि विज्ञायते ।

41) *Tai . Saṃ* . 6 . 1 . 4 . 5.

होतव्यं दीक्षितस्य गृहा इ न होतव्य म् ।

42) *B.M.* ( *Si.kau* . Vol . IV ) P . 442.

पूर्वेणैव सिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम् । तु शब्दस्त्वर्थतो ऽवधारणार्थः । यथा एवं विज्ञायेत पूर्वमेव प्लुत इति मा एवं विज्ञायि । पूर्वं भाषायामेवेति उदाहरणे तुशब्दो वितर्के ।

43) '*Kāśikā*' - C. S. S. Banārasa. 1952, on the rule P.A.3.2.76, P.182.

44) a) *Jai . Brā* . 3 . 98

ता इमा मनावीः प्रजाः ।

44) b) *Mai . Saṁ* . 1 . 10 . 6

तस्माद् इमा वैश्वदेवीः प्रजाः ।

45) *Pradīpa* ( *Vyā.MB*.Vol.II ), on the rule P.A.3.2 101, P.168.

अन्येष्वपि सप्तमीनिर्देशात् उपपदान्तरमेवाश्रितं न तु धात्वन्तरमित्याह अन्येष्वपि ।

46) '*Kāśikā*' - on P. A. 3 . 2 . 101.

अपिशब्दः सर्वोपाधिव्यभिचारार्थः तेन धात्वन्तरादपि कारकान्तरेषु अपि क्वचित्।

47) *T.B.* ( *Si.kau* . Vol . IV .), on the rule P. A. 3 . 2 . 101, P.83.

वस्तुतस्तु प्रकृतसूत्रस्थस्यापि ग्रहणस्य सर्वोपाधिव्यभिचारार्थत्वात्तार्त्तिकमनेनैव
गतार्थम् । विभाषितं चेदम्- 'इको गुणवृद्धी' इति सूत्रे 'जनेर्डः' प्रक्रम्य 'गमेरप्ययं
डो वक्तव्यः' इति वदता भाष्यकारेण ।

48) '*Kāśikā*' - C. S. S. Banārasa. 1952, on the rule 3. 2 .178, P.197.

अन्येभ्यो अपि धातुभ्यः ताच्छीलिकेषु क्विप् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते । दृशिग्रहणं विध्यन्त-
रोपसंग्रहार्थम् ।

49) Shrinivasacarya, L.,'*Gautama Dharmasūtra*', G. O. L. S.
Mysore, 1917. The word 'prāṭ' is not found separately but a
compound as 'prāḍvivaḳa' is found in the *Gau.Dha.*-

13.26

13.27

13.31

50) *Śa . Brā* . 4 . 5 . 9 . 8,

सर्वं वा ऽ इदमात्मा जगत् ।

also 6 . 2 . 1 . 29

51) *Mai . Saṁ* . 4 . 12 . 3

पताति दिद्युत् नर्यस्य बाह्वोर् - - - ।

See also Tai . Saṁ . 1 . 7 . 13 . 2

'*Ṛgveda*' - VII . 25 . I

52) *Tai . Saṁ* . 3 . 5 . 7 . 2

पर्णमयी जुहूः ।

*Mai . Saṁ . 3 . 1 . 1*

जुहूर्वे यज्ञमुखम् ।

53) '*Ṛgveda*' - X . 112 . 8 .

- - - सुवेदुनार्मकृणो ब्रह्मणे गाम् ।

54) *Pradīpa* - ( *Vyā . MB* . Vol . II .) P . 226

छन्दसीत्यधिकारात् भाषायां न प्राप्नोति ।

55) '*Kāśikā*' - C.S.S. Banārasa, 1952, on the rule P. A.5.3.14, P.421.

सप्तमीपञ्चम्यपेक्षमितरत्वम् । इतराभ्यो विभक्तिभ्यः तसिलादयो दृश्यन्ते । दिशिग्रहणं प्राथिकविध्यर्थं तेन भवदादिभिर्योगे एवैतद् विधानम् ।

56) Ibid . on the rule P. A. 6.3.137 P.573 - 574.

अन्येषामपि दीर्घो दृश्यते स शिष्ट प्रयोगादनुगन्तव्यः । यस्य दीर्घत्वं न विहितं, दृश्यन्ते च प्रयोगे तदनेन कर्तव्यम् ।

57) Ibid . on the rule P. A. 6.3.138 P.574.

58) These examples are not found in the literature anywhere.

59) These examples are not found in the literature anywhere.

60) *Mā . Saṁ* . 30 . 5

- - - तस्क्कर्नारकायव्वीरहणम् ।

Mai . Saṁ . 2 . 7 . 13.

गोभाजा - - - पूरुषम् ।

So also Tai . Saṁ . 4 . 2 . 6 . 2 .

61) *Mai . Saṁ* . 3 . 8 . 5 .

सपलं भ्रातृव्य ँ साद्वा पशूम्भि - - -।

सपलं भ्रातृव्य ँ साद्वा ते कामयन्त ।

62) '*Ṛgveda*' - VII . 56 . 23.

मरुद्भिरुग्रः पृतनासु साल्हा ।

63) '*Ṛgveda*' - VIII . 45 . 29.

ऋभुमक्षणं न वर्तव - - - ।

So also I . III . 4., VII . 48 . 1.

64) *Kāṭhaka . Saṁ* . 10 . 12.

स तक्षाणं तिछन्तमब्रवीत् - - - ।

65) 'Ṛgveda' - X . 47 . 1

जगृम्भाते दक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तं ।

66) Tai . Brā . 2 . 8 . 2 . 5

जगृभ्नाते दक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तम् ।

67) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 91 . 22

त्वं ज्योतिषा वि तमो ववर्थ ।

68) Tai . Saṁ . 3 . 1 . 4 . 4.

त्वं हि होता प्रथमो बभूथ ।

69) 'Ṛgveda' - III . 22 . 2

येनान्तरिक्षमुर्वाततन्थ - - - ।

70) Goldstücker, 'Pāṇini', Varanasi 1965, P.77 - 79.

Av . XI . 7 . 24

ऋचः सामानि छंदांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह उच्छिष्टाज्जज़िरे ।

71) Vasu, S. C., The 'Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini' ( Vol.I ), MBP. Delhi.1962, P.654.

72) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 162 . 15 = Tai . Saṁ . 4 . 6 . 9 . 2

मा त्वाग्निर्ध्वनचीद्धुमगन्धिर्मोख - - - - तं देवासः प्रति गृभ्णन्त्यश्वम् ।

73) Limaye, V.P., 'Critical Studies on the Mahābhāṣya', Hosiarpur, V.V.R.I. 1974, P.114. [ Whitney, ( GSAI 7.245 - 254, 1893). ]

74) 'Ṛgveda' - III . 36 . 10

अस्मे शतं शरदो जीवसे था - - - ।

and also Tai . Saṁ . 1.2.1.1

आप उदन्तु जीवसे दीर्घायुत्वाय वर्चसे ।

75) 'Ṛgveda' - V . 59 . 3

गवामिव श्रियसे - - - ।

76) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 50.1

दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् ।

also Tai . Saṁ 1.2.8.2

77) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 24 . 8, Mai . Saṁ 1.3.39.

सूर्याय पन्थामन्वेतवा उ ।

78) BM. ( Si. kau. Vol . I.), on the rule P. A. 4.1.45, P.561.

वस्तुतस्तु अनुपदोदाहृताकडारसूत्रभाष्यरीत्या संख्याशब्दानां गुणवचनत्वाभावाद् अप्राप्तस्य ङीषो विधानार्थं बहुग्रहणमित्याहुः ।

79) ‘*Rgveda*’ - I . 188.5

विराट् सम्राड्विभ्वीः प्रभ्वीर्बृह्वीश्च - - - दुरौ घृतान्यक्षरन् ।

80) a) *Tai* . *Saṁ* . 2.6.10.4

पञ्च प्रयाजा इज्यन्ते - - - पञ्चमं पाङ्क्तिमेवास्तु प्रयन्ति - - - ।

b) Ibid - 7.2.8.2

ऐन्द्रवायवो - - - पञ्चममहस्तस्मात् पञ्चमे - - - ।

81) a) <u>tu</u>      ‘*Rgveda*’ - IV . 32.1

आ तू न इन्द्र वृत्रहन्नस्माकमर्धमा गहि ।

b) <u>nu</u>      ‘*Rgveda*’ - VI . 39.5

नू गृणानो गृणुते प्रल राजन्निषः पिन्व वसुदेयाय पूर्वीः ।

c) <u>gha</u>      ‘*Rgveda*’ - I . 109.2

अश्रवं हि भूरिदावत्तरा - - - वां घा स्यालात् ।

d) <u>maksu</u>  ‘*Rgveda*’ - VIII . 33.3

पिशङ्गरूपं मघवन् विचर्षणे मक्षू गोमन्तमीमहे ।

e) <u>Taṅ</u>    ‘*Rgveda*’ - X . 176.2

प्र देवं देव्या धिया भरता जातवेदसम् - - - ।

f) <u>ku</u> not found independently but with ‘cit’.

‘*Rgveda*’ - IX . 87.8

कूचिदेत् सतीरूर्वे गा विवेद ।

g) <u>tra</u>     ‘*Rgveda*’ - I . 163.7

अत्रा ते रूपमुत्तममपश्यम् - - - ।

h) <u>urusya</u> ‘*Rgveda*’ - I . 91.15

उरुष्या णो अभिशस्तेः सोम् नि पाह्यंहसः ।

82) Burrow, T., ‘*The Sanskrit Language*’ - Faber & Faber, London, P.79, P.131, 282 and 283.

83) a) ‘*Rgveda*’ - IV . 31.3

अभी षु णः सखीनामविता जरितॄणाम् ।

b) ‘*Rgveda*’ - I . 36.13

कुर्ध्व ऊ षु ण ऊतये ।

84) 'Ṛgveda' - X . 47.1

जगृम्भा ते दक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तम् - - - ।

See also AV . I . 2.1., Vāja . Saṁ . 9.6., 'Ṛgveda' V . 26.1

85) 'Ṛgveda' - X . 20.10

एवा तैं अग्ने विमृदो मनीषामूर्जों - - - ।

86) a) 'Ṛgveda' - X . 73.1

जनिष्ठा उग्रः सहसे तुरायं ।

b) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 53.3

- - - मा त्वायतो जरितुः कार्ममूनयीः ।

87) Āpa. Dh. S. - 2.6.13.6

88) 'Kāśikā' - C. S. S. Banārasa. 1952, on the rule 6.4.73, P.588.

89) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 84.13

90) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 89.8

91) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 164.4

को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमानं अस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था बिर्भर्ति ।

92) 'Ṛgveda' - I . 164.32

स मातुर्योना परिवीतो अन्तर् बहुप्रजा निर्ऋतिमाविवेश ।

93) a) 'Ṛgveda' - IV . 39.2

- - - दुदथु र्मित्रावरुणा तंतुरिम् ।

b) 'Ṛgveda' - X . 108.1

- - - दूरे ह्यध्वा जगुरिः पराचैः ।

94) Sāyaṇa on 'Ṛgveda' - I . 37.8 .

जुजुर्वान् - जॄ वयोहानौ - लिटः क्वसुः - बहुलं छन्दसि - इति उत्वम् ।

(P. A. 7.1.103)

═══════════ 卐 ═══════════

# Chapter - 7
## Option - Indicative - 'Vārtikkaˢ '

The study of the option - indicative - rules will be incomplete if the option - indicative - 'Vārttika ˢ' are not studied. A student of Sanskrit grammar knows the importance of the 'Vārttika ˢ' because he is familiar with Sanskrit grammar as 'Trimuni Vyākaraṇam'. It is not surprising that one comes accross a number of 'Vārttika ˢ' in which some option-indicative-word is used. These 'Vārttika ˢ' also employ the word 'Chandasi' but as is proved before this word does not indicate option. A point must be noted that the 'Vārttika ˢ' which indicate option do not necessarily come under the rules which indicate option, but also come under the non - option - indicative - rules.

The underlying concept of the term 'Vārttika ˢ' is explained by the 'Parāśara Upapurāṇa' in a verse[1] and Goldstücker has described[2] the nature and the object of the 'Vārttika ˢ' of 'Kātyāyana' and of the work of 'Patañjali' in the following paragraphs. ( giving ref. to Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa).

' The characteristic feature of a 'Vārttika' says 'Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa' ' is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a sūtra'. A 'Vārttika of Kātyāyana' is therefore not a commentary which explains an animadversion which completes. In proposing to himself to write 'vārttika ˢ' on 'Pāṇini', 'Kātyāyana' did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of 'Pāṇini' but find faults with them and whoever has gone through his work must follow that he has done so his heart's content. 'Kātyāyana', in short, does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of 'Pāṇini' but that of an antagonist, often too of an unfair antagonist.'

As against Prof. Goldstücker, Kielhorn says[3] , 'it is true that the 'vārttika ˢ' are not a commentary on the rules of 'Pāṇini's' grammar and that it was not 'Kātyāyana's' intention to explain the meaning and the import of those rules as they have been explained e.g. by the author of 'Kāśikā'. But it is in my opinion equally true that 'Kātyāyana' in composing his 'Vārttika ˢ' did not propose to himself the task of finding fault with 'Pāṇini' for he justifies the rules of

his predecessors as often as he finds faults with them. So far form calling 'Katyāyana' an unfair antagonist of 'Pāṇini', I would rather claim for him a title of a follower and judicious admirer of 'Pāṇini' who dispassionately examines the rules laid down by his master, considers the objections which have actually been or which might be raised to them; is ever-ready to defend and justify 'Pāṇini' and corrects, adds to or abandons the rules propounded by him, only when no other course is left open.

'Kātyāyana', no doubt, states the objections to which the possible interpretation of a particular rule would be given, but he also shows that those interpretations are nevertheless admissible or suggests himself a correct interpretation. Thus, the object of the 'Vārttik a ' is to discuss such objections as might be raised to the rules of 'Pāṇini's' grammar without prejudice and on the other hand to justify 'Pāṇini' by defending him against unfounded criticism and also to correct, reject and add to the rules laid down by him where defence and justification were considered impossible. According to Kielhorn this is the purport of the definition of the term 'Vārttika ' as recorded by 'Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa'.

The option - indicative - 'Vārttika ' have sometimes widened the scope of the rules on which they are stated. For example - 'Vā Nāmadhyeyasya Vṛddha-saṃjñā Vaktavyā' on the rule 'Vṛddhiryasyācāmādistad Vṛddham' - P. A. 1.1.73. The rule states, 'that word among the vowels of which the first is a 'Vṛddhi' is called 'Vṛddham' while the 'Vārttika' comes to mean, a proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as 'Vṛddha' and thus the proper noun 'Devadatta' is now 'Vṛddha' and takes the affix 'CHA' and the form is either 'Devadattīyā' or 'Daivadattā'. Here one finds that the 'Vārttika' widens the scope of the rule as the number of the 'Vṛddha' -words is now increased and thus 'Vṛddhāt chaḥ' P. A. 4.2.114 is applicable to such words.

Further the 'Vārttika', 'Vā Lipsāyāmiti Vaktavyam' is to be studied. This 'Vārttika' comes under the rule 'Upānmantrakaraṇe'

P.A. 1.3.25. The rules states that after the root 'Sthā' preceded by 'Upa' when meaning is 'to adore' the 'Ātmanepada' affix is used while the 'Vārttika' adds 'it must be stated that the 'Ātmanepada' is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting something' as 'Bhikṣuko Brāhmaṇakulamupatiṣṭhate or Upatiṣṭhati' which means - a beggar waits at a place of a 'Brāhmaṇa' with the desire of getting something. In this example also the field of application of the 'Ātmanepada' is widdened.

As an instance of some new addition to the rule and as a new statement one can study the 'Vārttika', 'Prādibhyo Dhātujasyottara-padasya Lopaśca Vā Bahuvrīhirvaktavyaḥ'. This 'Vārttika' comes under the rule 'Anekamanyapadārthe' - P.A.2.2.24. It states that the optional compounding of what rises from a verbal root coming after the affix 'Pra' etc. should be stated and the subsequent term is to be elided as 'Prapatitam Parṇamasya - Praparṇaḥ', a tree the leaf of which is fallen, so also 'prapalāśaḥ'. Parallel is the case of the 'vārttika', 'nañoς Styarthānām Bahuvrīhirvā Cottarapadalopaśca vaktavyaḥ'. This 'vārttika' also comes under the same rule, P.A. 2.2.24. These 'Vārttika' are altogether new statements because 'Bahuvrīhisaṁjñā' is newly given to these compounds. By these 'Vārttika' some words are permitted to get compounded and then the compound is allowed to be called a 'Bahuvrīhi' - compound optionally. One can't say that the option-indicative- 'Vārttika' serve the same purpose which the option - indicative - rules serve. A rule (though optional) is a self-sufficient statement. It ordains some operation primarily but a 'Vārttika' is always either an addition or an omission. Moreover, the 'Vārttika' which employ an option-indicative-term along with the word 'Chandasi', support the point that the word 'chandasi' does not denote option. See the 'Vārttika' - 'Chandasi Viniprakaraṇe - -' on the rule P.A.5.2.122 and 'Utaśca Pratyayāt Chandasi Veti - - ' on the rule P. A. 6.4.106.

The purpose of the discussion of the option - indicative - 'Vārttika' is to know about the changes in the Sanskrit language;

from the period of 'Pāṇini' to that of 'Kātyāyana'. No doubt 'Pāṇini' has tried to frame the rules which would govern the whole bulk of Sanskrit language but every grammarian has the limit of time and space. He is not expected to take notice of those forms and usages which are yet to come; ( in this case, which are post - 'Pāṇinian' ). The same purpose i.e. to take the note of the changes in the language is also served by the 'Mahābhāṣya' of 'Patañjali' with more explanation and commentary on the rules.

It is observed that in most of the option-indicative-'Vārttika<sup>s</sup>', the term 'Vā' is used. Only in two 'Vārttika<sup>s</sup>' we find the term 'Bahulam'. 1) 'Bahulam Saṃjñāchandasorvaktavyam' - on P.A. 2.4.57 and 2) the similar wording of the 'Vārttika' on P. A. 4.1.53.

The point of the historical development of the language may be discussed here. On the basis of the 'Vārttika<sup>s</sup>', a history of the development of Sanskrit language can be built up. The careful study of the text of 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' will prove that 'Pāṇini' had tried to explain the bulk of words in current language and in the vedic language as well. The words which are used in the language are explained and the words which are not used (which are expected to come in the language) are also made provision for. The different usages at different places are explained in the 'Vyā.MB' under 'Aprayogo Prayogānyatvāt'[4] and 'Sarve Deśāntare'. The clear traces of the development of the language are left in the 'Vārttika<sup>s</sup>'. 'Kātyāyana' has framed the 'Vārttika<sup>s</sup>' and 'Patañjali' also has added some 'Vārttika' type statements which are called 'Iṣṭi'[s]. At present the discussion is only about the 'Vārttika<sup>s</sup>'.

One must admit that 'Pāṇini' has taken care of all the existent forms in the language of his time. His scientific, systematic, sincere and disciplined treatment leads to the conclusion that he is not the person of forgetful nature and he never admits loose threads in his system. Missing some forms, just by oversight or by carelessness is just imposssible on the part of 'Pāṇini'. Everybody admits that 'Pāṇini' cannot be subjected to this kind of accusition. Therefore,

about the missing explanations of some forms, one can only say that 'Pāṇini' was really ignorant about those forms (which 'Kātyāyana' has later explained) but they were not existent at all in 'Pāṇini's' time. The study of Pre-Pāṇinian, Pāṇinian and Post-Pāṇinian literature will explain the point.

The concept of 'Ākṛtigaṇa' (with ref. to the 'Gaṇapāṭha' ) is eloquent to prove 'Pāṇini's' foresight as a grammarian. The list of the words in the 'Ākṛtigaṇa' is always incomplete as 'Pāṇini' permits the addition of words ( having the similar form - 'Samānā Ākṛtiḥ') in the 'Ākṛtigaṇa'. That is to say by the device of 'Ākṛtigaṇa' he permits the new words in his grammatical system which have not yet come in the language. The point can be explained with the help of the 'Vārttika', 'Śakandhvādiṣu Pararūpam Vācyam' on P. A. 6.1.94. The list begins with 'Śakandhu' and all the words in that group get the 'Pararūpa' -operation. The word 'Mṛtand' is not listed in this 'Gaṇa' but in its formation the 'Pararūpa' - operation is seen. Moreover, 'Pāṇini' has not given any rule for this 'Pararūpa' - operation and the necessary conditions to get listed in this group are fulfilled by the word 'Mṛtaṇḍa' so the later grammarians included the word in the 'Śakandhvādi Gaṇa'. It clearly shows that 'Pāṇini' was aware of the fact that in the grammatical system a provision should be made for newly-coming words.

The 'Vārttika ' clearly show that the changes in the language take place in twofold ways.

1) Sometimes the form of the word is changed. 2) Sometimes the meaning of the word is restricted or extended. See for example 'Pāṇighatāḍaghau Śilpini' -P.A.3.2.55 and the 'Vārttika', 'Rājagha-Upasamkhyānam' on the same rule. In 'Pāṇini's' time the word 'Rājagha' might not have been used or it might not have the sense of 'Śilpin' which is added later in 'Kātyāyana's' time. In such cases 'Pāṇini' cann't be accused for not taking care of such forms or meanings which were not existent at all, but at the same time it must be admitted that to explain such changes in the language the 'Vārttika ' are very much necessary.

There are about forty 'Vārttika [s]' which use some option - indicative - term. These 'Vārttika [s]' are very useful to note the details of the change in the language. The option - indicative - term in a 'Vārttika' shows that the particular word-form has not totally changed from the previous form but along with some old signs it has accepted a new form with regard to its physical form or to its meaning. Thus, for a student of the history of language these option - indicative -'Vārttika [s]' are of great help.

---

# References

1) Mishra., 'व्याकरण - वार्तिक - एक समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन.' Prithvi Prakashan, Varanasi. 1970. P . 22)

उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तानां चिंन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते ।

तं ग्रन्थं वार्तिकं प्राहुः वार्तिकज्ञाः मनीषिणः ॥ ('Parāśara Upapurāṇa'

- Adhyāya. 7 )

2) Goldstücker, ''Pāṇini'', London, 1861, P.119 - 121.

3) Kielhorn, F., ''Kātyāyana and Patañjali, their relation to each other and to Pāṇini'', Varanasi. 1963.

4) Vyā.MB - MBP. Patana. 1962, 1.1.1.5 and 1.1.1.7.

===== 卐 =====

**INDIA IN PĀṆINI'S TIME**
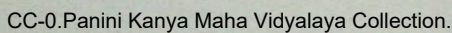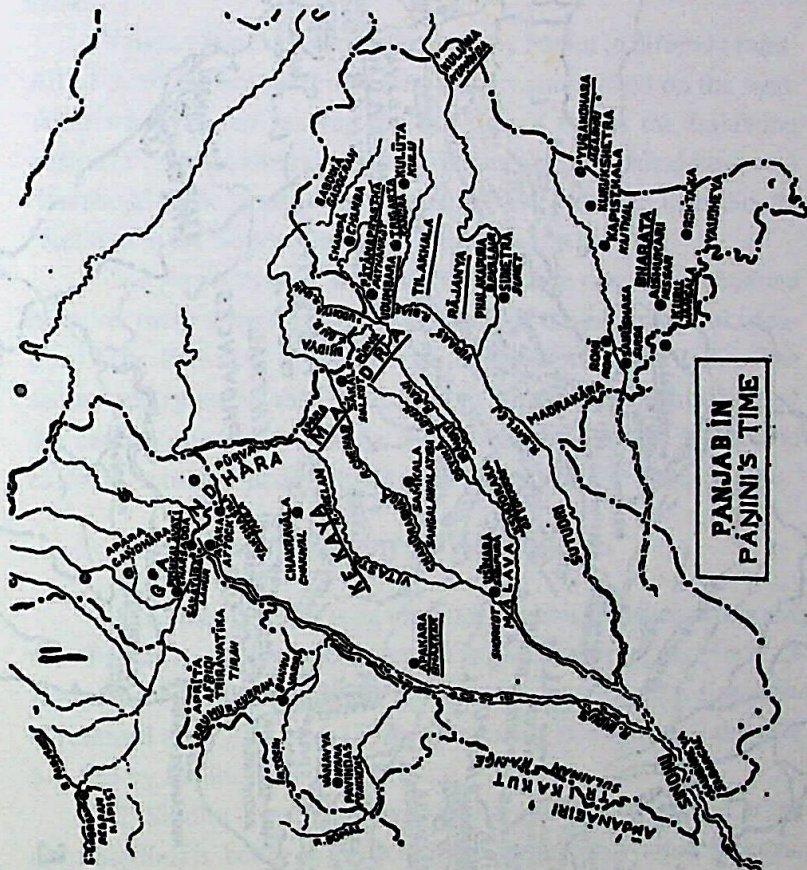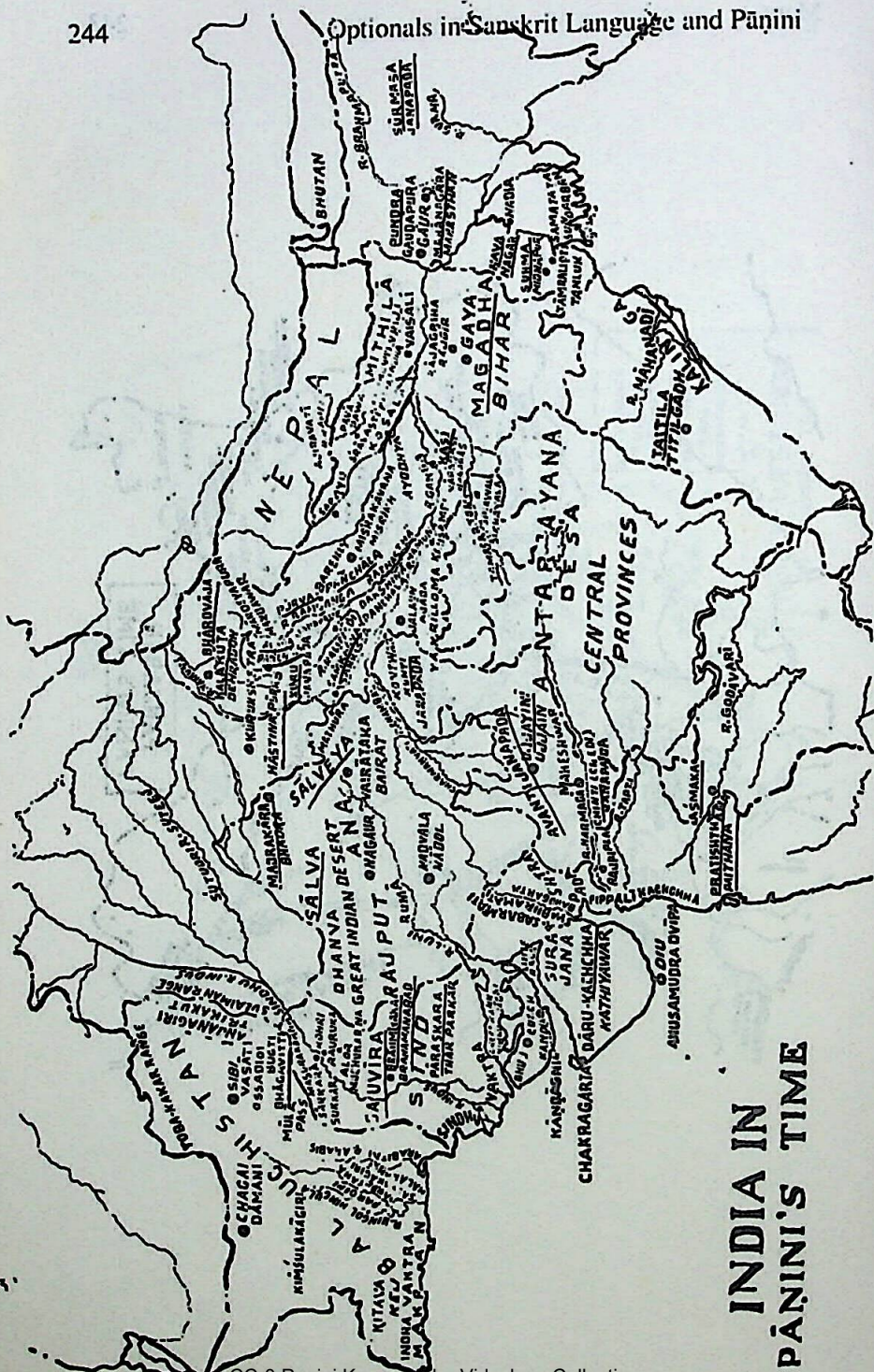
# A Note on the Map

All the three maps enclosed here and the geographical information about India at Pāṇini's time are taken from the valuable book 'India as known to Pāṇini' by V. S. Agarwala ( Prithvi Prakashana, Varanasi-1963). We are very much grateful to the author for the same.

Various *Janapadas* are referred to by Pāṇini in different rules. All of them are not described here but are underlined on the map. What we find after reading the three maps is that the following janapada' mark extreme points of Pāṇini's geographical horizon - 'Kamboja' in the North, 'Sauvīra' in the West, 'Aśmaka' in the South, 'Kaliṅga in the South-West and 'Sūramasa' in the East.

One single map of India at Pāṇini's time cannot be obtained however these three maps give clear idea of the geographical situations. The first map gives the idea of the North-West India. The second map presents the 'Janapada'' in Punjab and the third map of the central provinces of India shows that the extreme North and extreme South of modern India were not existing at Pāṇini's time.

## Map 1 - North-West India.

(1) Kamboja - This is an important region at Pāṇini's time and the 'Prakaṇva janapada' is situated in the region of the North of Kamboja or the Pāmira-region. It is not shown on the map. Kamboja is referred to in P. A. 4.1.175 and Prakaṇva is referred in the rule 6.1.153 by Pāṇini.

(2) Sindhu -The Saindhava - region (which is named after the river Sindhu) is between the two rivers Zhelum and Indus. Kekaya, Gandhāra are the two neighbouring regions which are more clear on the map of Punjab.

## Map 2 - 'Punjab' at Pāṇini's time.

This is an important map from our point of view.

(3) 'Śalātura, Puṣkalāvatī and Takṣaśilā' are the three impor-

tant states as Pāṇini's birth place and place of studies. In the map of Punjab these states are more clear though they appear in the South-East direction of North-West India (Map No.1).

(4) 'Madra - Bharata, Uśīnara, Kekaya' are the four important janapadas at Pāṇini's time. Madra is divided into two parts as 'pūrva' and 'Apara Madra'. The Bharata-region has separated the east from the west as shown by 'Pāṇini's' reference to the 'Prācya-Bharata' on which 'Patañjali' remarks that the proper prācya - country lies outside the sphere of the Bharatas ( Patañjali on P.A.2.4.61). The other important janapadas are 'Apakara (Bakkhara), Kṣudraka, Kurujaṅgal, Yugandhara, Rājanya, Kuṇinda, Tilakhala, Trigarta and Udumbara'. All these are three divisions of the 'Vāhika' - country - viz 'Kekaya, Uśīnara and Madra' to which the fourth division 'Śavasa' is to be added. Of these 'Kekaya' and 'Śavasa' can be located between the 'Jhelum and the Chenab', the first in the South and the second in the North respectively and 'Madra' and 'Uśīnara' between the Chenab and the 'Rāvi', in the North and South respectively. The division becomes more clear on the map.

'Trigarta' denotes the regions drained by the three rivers 'Rāvi, Beas and Sutlej' and corresponds to the Jālandhar - group of states which had retained their geographical identity all these years. 'Jālandharāyana' is mentioned in the 'Rājanyādi' - group.

Ambaṣṭha though not located on the lower course of Chenab, Mahabhārata locates it in the North-West.

## Map - 3

The map of India shows the important regions as 'Sauvīra, Śālva, Kāśī, Kosala, Magadha, Sūramasa, Kaliṅga, Aśmaka, Avantī, Kaccha and Kuru. The other janapadas (as the cities they may be called) are as follows - Madrakār, Kālakuṭa, Śālveya, Kuntī (Konṭāvāra), Pāraskara, Pratiṣṭhāna, Titilagadha, Suhmanagara, Navanagara, Puṇḍranagara, Mahānagar, Sāmkāśya and Hastināpur.

| Regions | Rules (P. A.) |
|---------|---------------|
| 1) Sauvīra | 4.1.148 |
| 2) Gāndhāra, Ajavāha, Takṣaśilā - | 4.1.169, 4.2.133, 4.3.93 |
| 3) Sālva - ( Śālveya ) | 4.1.169 |
| 4) Magadha | 4.1.170 |
| 5) Kaliṅga | 4.1.170 |
| 6) Sūramasa | 4.1.170 |
| 7) Kosala | 4.1.171 |
| 8) Kuru | 4.1.151, 4.1.172 |
| 9) Kālakūṭa | 4.1.173 |
| 10) Aśmaka | 4.1.173 |
| 11) Pratyagratha | 4.1.173 |
| 12) Kamboja | 4.1.175 |
| 13) Avantī | 4.1.176 |
| 14) Kuntī | 4.1.176 |
| 15) Kṣudradeśa | 4.2.054 |
| 16) Madra | 4.2.108 |
| 17) Kāśī | 4.2.116 |
| 18) Uśīnara | 4.2.118 |
| 19) Vṛjī | 4.2.131 |
| 20) Kaccha | 4.2.133 |
| 21) Bhāradvāja | 4.2.145 |
| 22) Apakara | 4.3.032 |
| 23) Brāhmaṇaka | 5.2.071 |
| 24) Prakaṇva or Praskaṇva | 6.1.153 |
| 25) Pāraskara | 6.1.157 |
| 26) Kekaya | 7.03.02 |

# Bibliography
## I. Traditional Books :

1. *The Ṛgveda Samhitā* -Max Müllar, Oxford University Press, London, 1690.

2. *The Yajurveda Samhitā* - Maharṣi Dayananda Saraswati S. A. P. S. Prakashana, Delhi, 1946

3. *The Sāmaveda Samhitā* - with Sāyaṇabhāṣya., Bhattacharya, B., The Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. XVI. Calcutta, 1936.

4. a) *The Atharvaveda Samhitā* -
   Vishvabandhu. V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur,1960
   b) Whitney, W. D., Motilal Banarasidas Prakashan. Delhi. 1962

5. *The Mādhyandina Samhitā* with Uvaṭabhāṣya and Mahīdhara-bhāṣya, Misra, R. S., Vidyavilasa Press. Banarasa. 1913.

6. *The Taittirīya Samhitā* - with 'Vedavedikā',
   Satavalekara, S. D., Paradi ( Bombay ). 1957.

7. *The Paippalāda Samhitā* - Bhattacharya, D. M., Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series No . XXVI . Calcutta. 1964.

8. *The Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, Schroeder, L., Leipzig. 1883.

9. *The Kāṭhaka Samhitā*, Schroeder, L., Leipzig. 1900.

10. *The Vājasaneyi Samhitā* -with 'Vedadīpa'., Weber, Berlin, 1852.

11. *The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*, Anandasharma Sanskrit Granthavali. (Granthak.32) 32. Anandasharma. Poona. 1896

12. *The Gopatha Brāhamṇa* - Mitra, R and Vidyabhushana, H., Asiatic Society of Bombay. Calcutta. 1872.

13. *The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* - Vira, R and Chandra, L. Saraswati Vihar Grantha.Nagpur. 1954.

14. *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
    a) Shastri.A.C., C. S. S. Banarasa. 1937.
    b) With the commentary of Vasudeva Bhagavata Prakashaka. Gangavishnu Shrikrishnadasa Kalyana. (Bombay). 1940.

15. *The Śāṃkhāyana Brāhmaṇa.* Chaya, G. Vajeshankara., Anandasharma Sanskrit Granthavali.Granthaka-65.Poona. 1911.

16. *The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.* with the commentary of
    Bhaṭṭabhāṣyakāra Mishra. A. Mahadeva Shastri. Mysore. 1908.
17. *The Tāṇḍya - Mahābrāhmaṇa* - with Sāyaṇabhāṣya.
    Shastri, A. C. and Shastri, P., C. S. S. Banarasa. 1936
18. *The Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa.*
    Sarma, B.R., K S.V. Tirupati. 1967.
19. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.* G. Buhler. ( By M. G. Shastri )
    Bombay Sanskrit Series No . XLIV and L. Bombay. 1932.
20. *Āpastamba Śrautsūtra.* with Dhūrtasvāmībhāṣya. Shastri, A. C.,
    Oriental Institute Baroda 1955.
21. *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra.* Gokhale, Ganeshashastri.,
    Anandasharma Sanskrit Granthavali. Granthaka 81. Poona 1917.
22. *Baudhāyana Śrautsūtra.* Caland, W., Asiatic Society,
    Calcutta 1913.
23. *Gautama Dharmasūtra.* Shrinivasacharya, L.,
    G. O. L. S. Mysore 1917.
24. *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* with Kārakabhāṣya
    Nene,Gopalashastri., C. S. S. Banarasa. 1939.
25. *Chāndogyopaniṣad.,* Agashe, Kashinathashastri., Anandasharma
    Sanskrit Granthavali. Granthak 14. Poona 1940.
26. *Mahānārayaṇopaniṣad* - Jacob, G. A.,
    Bombay Sanskrit Series. 35 Bombay 1888.
27. Nirukta Yāska
    a) Rajavade, V. K., B. O. R. I. Poona. 1940.
    b) With the commentaries of Skandasvamin and Maheshvara.
    L. Sarupa. The University of Punjab. Lahore, 1934.
28. *The Ṛk-prātiśākhya.* Shintre, Shivaramshastri., Bombay . 1939.
29. *The Taittirīya prātiśākhya.*
    a) Mitra, R., Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta 1872.
    b) Whitney, W. D., American Oriental Society. Vol . IX. New
    Haven 1871 ( Delhi 1973 )
30. *The Vājasaneyi-prātiśākhya* with Uvaṭabhāṣya and Annam-
    bhaṭṭabhāṣya. Sharma,V.V., University of Madras.Madras. 1934.

31. *The Ātharvaṇa - prātiśākhya*. Whitney, W. D., C.S S. Vol . XX. Varanasi. 1962.

32. *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*. Vasu, S. C., Vol . I and II. Motilal Banarasidas Prakashana. Delhi.(Patana). 1962.

33. *The Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*. Patañjali.
   a) With Pradīpa and Udyota. Vol . I, II and III
   Motilal Banarasidas Prakashana. Patana. 1967.
   b) Abhyankara, K. V., ( Seven Volumes ) D. E. S. Poona. 1954.

34. *The Paribhāṣendu Shekhara* - Nagoji Bhatta. Abhyankara, K. V., B. O. R. I. Poona. 1962.

35. *The kāśikā - vṛtti*
   1. Jayāditya - vāmaṇa. C. S. S. Banarasa. 1952.
   2. Shastri, D. D. and Shukla, K. P., With 'Nyāsa' and 'Udyota'. Prachya Bharati Prakashana. Varanasi. 1965.

36. *The Siddhāntakaumudī.*
   a) Dikshit, Bhattoji., Vol . I and II.
   Vasu, S. C., Motilal Banarasidas Prakashana. Delhi. Reprinted.
   ( First Publication - Pāṇini Office. Allahabad 1906 ).

36. b) *The Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta Kaumudī* with Bālamanoramā and Tattvabodhinī. MBP . Patana - 1967.

37. *The Bhāradvāja - śikṣā* - Ayyara, Dikshitar., B. O. R. I., Poona 1938.

38. *The Kathāsaritsāgara*. Somadeva. Pandita. J. Shastri. Motilal Banarasidas Prakashana. Delhi . 1970.

39. *The Vākyapadīya* - Bhartṛhari.
   a)    Abhyankara - Limaye. University of Poona.Sanskrit and Prakrit Series Vol . II. Poona . 1965.
   b) With the commentary of Helārāja.Trivendrum Edition. 1942.

## II. Modern Books :

1. Agnihotri, Prabhudayala., *Patañjalikalina Bharata*. Bihara Rashtrabhasha Parishad. Patana. 1963.

2. Agarwal, V. S., *India as known to Pāṇini*. Prithvi Prakashan, Varanasi, 1963.

3.  Belvalkara, S. K., *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*.
    University of Bombay Publication. 1915.

4.  Bloomfield, L., "*Language*". London. 1935.
    ( Motilal Banarasidas. Delhi. 1963-64 ).

5.  Bloomfield, L., "*Vedic Concordance*". Harward Oriental
    Series No . 10. Cambridge - Mass. 1906. ( Motilal Banarasidas.
    Delhi. 1964 ).

6.  Buiskool, H. E., "*The tripādī*" - Abridged English recast of
    (Pūrvatrāsiddham) Leiden. 1939.

7.  Burrow, T.,"*The Sanskrit Language*". Feber and Feber. London.

8.  Dvivedi, H. P., "*Studies in Pāṇini*". Inter India Publication.
    Delhi. 1977.

9.  Emeneau, M. B., "*The Ancient Indo - European Dialects*".
    University of California Press, 1966.

10. Faddegon., "*Studies in Pāṇini's Grammar*". Amsterdam. 1936.

11. Goldstücker. "*Pāṇini*". Varanasi. 1965.

12. J. Gonda. "*Old Indian*" ( Handbook Der Orientalistic ) Brill. E.
    J. Leiden. 1971.

13. Katre, S. M., "*Dictionary of Pāṇini*". (Vol . I - III. with supple-
    ment of Gaṇāpāṭha). Deccan College Centenary and Silver
    Jubilee Series - Poona. 1968.

14. Kielhorn, F., "*Kātyāyana, Patañjali, their relation to each other
    and to Pāṇini*". IInd Edition. Varanasi. 1963.

15. Kielhorn, F., "*Reader on Sanskrit Grammarians*". Edi. Staal.
    Cambridge. 1972.

16. Laddu, S. D., "*Evolution of the Sanskrit Language from Pāṇini
    to Patañjali*". University of Poona. 1974.

17. Limaye, V. P., "*Critical Studies on the Mahābhāṣya*" -
    V. V. R. I. Hosiarpur. 1974.

18. Macdonell., "*Vedic Grammar*". Oxford University Press.
    Bombay. 1916.

19. Macdonell and Keith., "*Vedic Index to names and subjects*".
    Chaukhamba Vidyabhavana. Varanasi. 1962.

20. Mishra, Vedapati., "*Vyākaraṇa - vārttika. Eka Sameekṣātmaka Adhyayana*". Prithvi Prakashana. Varanasi. 1970.

21. Mishra, Vidyanivasa., "*Descriptive Technique of Pāṇini*". Janua Linguarum Studia Memoride. The Hague. Mouton. 1966.

22. Nath., N. C., "*Pāṇinian Interpretation of the Sanskrit Language*". Banarasa Hindu University Sanskrit Series Vol.II.

23. Sathe, M. D., "*Pāṇini va Pāṇinīya Vyākaraṇa Sampradāya*". Poona. 1962.

24. Sarma, K. M. K., "*Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali*". Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth. Delhi. 1968.

25. Sebeok, Thomas., "*Current Trends in Linguistics*". Vol.V and XIII Edi. Mouton and Co. The Hague 1966 and 1975.

26. Sköld, Hannes., "*Papers on Pāṇini and Indian Grammar in general*". Lund. 1926.

27. Thieme, P., "*Pāṇini and the Veda*". Allahabad. 1935.

28. Tripathi, Shambhunath., "*Śākaṭāyana - Vyākaraṇa*". Bharatiya Jnanapeeth Prakashana. 1971

29. Sharma, Vyankataram., "*Critical Studies on Kātyāyana' Shuklayajurveda - prātiśākhya*" - University of Madras. 1935.

30. Vishvabandhu., "*Vedic Padānukrama Kośa*" - V.V.R.I. Hoshiarpur. 1958

## III. Booklets and Periodicals :

1. Chaturvedi, S. P., " Technical terms of the Aṣṭādhyāyī". Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference.IX.1191-208. 1935.

2. Dange, S. A., " Root - germinants and reduplicated roots in Sanskrit ". Indian Antiquary. IIIʳᵈ Series. IV - i.

3. ·Dange, S. A., " Some peculiarities of the Eastern Dialect- According to Pāṇini". Annual (Number) of the Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandala. Nagpur . 1970.

4. Deshpande, M. M., 'Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇaparamparāyām upabhāṣātattvam'. "Ṛṣikalpanyāsa". Bhārati Pariṣad Prayāga., 1970. P. 17 - 25.

5. Joshi, S. D., " Two methods of interpreting Pāṇini ". Journal of the University of Poona. Humanities Section. No. 23. P. 53 - 61.Poona. 1965.

6. Kardona, J., An article - "Language". Vol . 53 No.1,March. 1977. P. 221 - 224.

7. Laddu, S. D., "Ancient Sanskrit Grammarians and Their Literary Records ". Vishveshvaranand Institute Journal. Hoshiarpur 1971.

8. Palasule, G. B., " The root bhāṣ - in the Sanskrit grammatical terminology". Indological Studies. Journal of Dept. of Sanskrit. Vol. II. No. 2. University of Delhi. January 1974.

9. Palasule, G. B., " Saṁjñāyām in Pāṇini ". Journal of the University of Poona. Humanities Section. No. 25. P. 31 - 75.

10. Pathaka, "Jaina Śākaṭāyana-Contemporary with Amogavarṣa I " Indian antiquary. Octo. 1914. P. 205.

11. Sarma, K. M. K., " Technical terms in the Aṣṭādhyāyī ". Journal of the Oriental Research. P. 259 - 67. Madrasa. 1940.

12. Thieme, P., " On the identity of vārttikakāra ". Indian Culture. Vol. IV. 1937. P. 189 - 209.

13. Thieme, P., " Pāṇini and the Ṛk - prātiśākhya ". Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. V. 1937. P. 335.

4. Deshmukh, C. R. "History of non-magnetic uplift and uplift bhāvanā and 'Vāda-Vivādas.'" *Pāṇini, Prospects Part* 1. 1970. P. 175-79.

5. Joshi, S. D. "Two works of interpreting Pāṇini." *Annals of the Institute*, "Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute." 12. P. 41-61 Poona 1970.

6. Kanesan, Varadha. "Linguage" Vol. 54 No. 1 March 1978. 11. P. 234.

7. Laddu, S. D. "Vedaṅga Sūtra" Grammarians and Their Literary Xerox T. V. Sadaśivananda Institute Journal. Hoshiarpur 1976.

8. Palsule, G. B. "Pāṇini hms, and a Śatka grammatical terminology" Bulletin of Deccan Journal of Dept. of Sanskrit, Vol. II No. 2 University of Delhi. January 1974.

9. Palsule, G. B. "Saṁjñā-sūtras in Pāṇini", Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section. 20. P. 21-75.

10. Prabhu, Tara. Sabhagraha Grammarians, with Anuprayoga Institute. Allahabad. Gaṇa. 1964. P. 208.

11. Sarma, K. M. V. "Technical terms in the teaching of Gaṇa." Journal of the Oriental Research. P. 259-271. Madras 1944.

12. Tripāṭhī, P. "On the identity of sutra-kara." Indian Culture. Vol. IV 1937. P. 34-302.

13. Thieme, P. "Pāṇini and the Pāṇinīya." Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. V 1937. P. 3-9.

**DR. UMA VAIDYA**

Dr. Uma Vaidya - Presently working as Reader - Designate, Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, Wilson College, Mumbai, has a brilliant career from her school days. She has first rank in her B.A. and M.A. Examinations in Sanskrit from Uni. of Poona and has baged a number of prizes. She is also the recipient of Gold Medal at the Kalidasa Samaroha, Ujjain for the best Sanskrit speech. She has completed her Ph. D. work under the able guidance of late Dr. S. A. Dange on 'Aphorisms, indicative of option in the Aṣṭādhyāyī'. She was awarded Junior and Senior Research fellowship by U.G.C. for her doctoral degree. Post - Doctoral Research associate - award from U.G.C. is also to her credit. She has successfully completed Minor Research Project under U. G. C. Financial assistance scheme. In addition to this she has ambitious plans to popularise Sanskrit in the society and as a part of it she has published a book on the philosophy of Geeta and its relevance in Modern age, which is titled as Vasudevavagvenu.
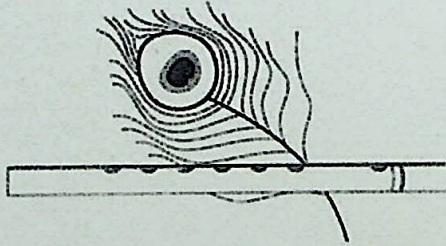
**Special thanks are due to
The trustees of Shri Dvarkadhish Charities
for the publication of this book.**

Contact for details -
website : www.sridwarkadhish.com